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SOUTH AMERICA.

Translation of the Law of the Congress of Venezuela, uniting the Provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, by the name and style of the Republic of Colombia.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW of the REPUBLIC of COLOMBIA.

The Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, whose authority has been voluntarily recognized by the people of New Grenada, recently liberated by the arms of the republic: considering—

1. That the Provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, united in a single republic, possess all the requisites for attaining the highest degree of power and prosperity:

2. That if formed into distinct Republics, and even united by the closest ties far from profiting by their great advantages, they would, with difficulty, give stability to, and command respect for, their Sovereignty:

3. That these truths being deeply impressed on the minds of all men of superior talents and sound patriotism, have determined the governments of the two Republics to agree upon their Union, hitherto obstructed by the vicissitudes of war:

Wherefore, actuated by necessity and mutual interest, and conforming to the report of a Special Committee of Deputies from New Grenada and Venezuela,

And in the name and under the protection of the Almighty, they have decreed, and do hereby decree, the following Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia:

Art. 1. The Republics of Venezuela and New Grenada are henceforth united in one, under the glorious title of the Republic of Colombia:

2. Its territory shall comprehend the former Captain-Generalship of Venezuela and the Viceroyalty of New Grenada, including an extent of 115 thousand square leagues, the precise limits whereof shall be fixed hereafter.

3. The debts contracted separately by the two Republics, are hereby consolidated as a national debt of Colombia, for the payment of which all the property of the state is pledged, and the most productive branches of the public revenue will be appropriated.

4. The Executive power of the Republic shall be vested in a President, and, in case of vacancy, by a Vice President, both to be provisionally appointed by the present Congress.

5. The Republic of Colombia shall be divided into three great Departments; Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca, comprizing the Provinces of New Grenada, which denomination is henceforth abolished; and their Capitals shall be the cities of Caraccas, Quito, and Bogota, the adjunct Santafe being annulled.

6. Each Department shall have a Superior Ad-

ministration, with a Chief, to be appointed, for the present, by the Congress, and entitled a Vice President.

7. A new city, to be called Bolivar, in honor of the assertor of the public liberty, shall be the Capital of the Republic of Colombia. Its plan and situation to be fixed on by the first General Congress, upon the principle of adapting it to the exigencies of the three departments, and to the future grandeur to which nature has destined this opulent country.

8. The General Congress of Colombia shall assemble on the first day of January, 1821, in the town of Rosario de Cucuta, which, from various circumstances, is considered the most eligible situation. It shall be convened by the President of the Republic, on the 1st day of January, 1820, who shall communicate such regulation concerning elections as may be formed by a special committee and approved by the present Congress.

9. The constitution of the Republic of Colombia shall be formed by the General Congress: to which shall be submitted, in the form of a plan, the constitution decreed by the present Congress, which, together with the laws enacted by that body, shall be, provisionally, carried into execution.

10. The arms and flag of Colombia shall be determined on by the General Congress, and in the meantime those of Venezuela, being most known shall continue to be used.

11. The present Congress shall adjourn on the 15th January, 1820, after which the new elections to the General Congress of Colombia shall be made.

12. A committee of six members and a President shall replace the Congress, whose particular powers and duties shall be regulated by a decree.

13. The Republic of Colombia shall be solemnly proclaimed throughout the towns and armies, accompanied by public festivals and rejoicings, and this ceremony shall take place in the Capital on the 25th of the present month, in commemoration of the birth of the Saviour of the World, through whose especial favor this wished for union, regenerating the state, has been obtained.

14. The anniversary of this political regeneration, shall be perpetually celebrated with the solemnities of a national festival, at which, in imitation of the Olympia, premiums shall be adjudged to citizens distinguished by their virtues and their talents.

The present fundamental law of the republic of Colombia shall be solemnly promulgated throughout the towns and armies, inscribed on all the public records, and deposited in all the archives of societies, municipalities, and corporations both clerical and secular.

Given at the Palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, in the city of St. Thomas de Angostura, on the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1819—Ninth of Independence. Francisco Antonio Zea, President of the Congress Juan German Roscio, Manuel Sedeno, Juan Martinez, Jose Espana, Luis Tomas Poraza, Antonio M. Brigeno, Eusebio Afanador, Francisco Conde, Diego Bouista Urbaneja, Juan Vicente Cardoso, Ignacio Munoz, Onofre Bazalo, Domingo Alzuru, Jose Tomas Machado, Ramon Garcia Cadiz. Diego de Vallentia, Deputy and Secretary.

The Snow Storm.

From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for April, received at the Office of the Commercial Advertiser.

"'Tis only from the belief of the goodness and wisdom of a supreme being, that our calmness can be borne in that manner which becomes a man."—
HENRY MACKENZIE.

In Summer there is a beauty in the wildest moors of Scotland; and the wayfaring man who sits down for an hour's rest beside some little spring that flows unheard through the brightened moss and water-creases, feels his weary heart revived by the silent, serene, and solitary prospect. On every side sweet sunny spots of verdure smile towards him from among the melancholy heather—unexpectedly in the solitude a stray sheep, it may be with its lambs, starts half-alarmed at his motionless figure—insects large, bright, and beautiful come creering by him through the desert air—nor does the Wild want its own songsters. the grey linnet, fond of the blooming furze, and now and then the lark mounting up to heaven above the green pastoral hills. During such a sunshiny hour, the lonely cottage on the waste seems to stand in a paradise; and as he rises to pursue his journey, the traveller looks back and blesses it with a mingled emotion of delight and envy. There, thinks he, abide the children of innocence and contentment, the two most benign spirits that watch over human life.

But other thoughts arise in the mind of him who may chance to journey through the same scene in the desolation of Winter. The cold bleak sky girdles the moor as with a belt of ice—life is frozen in air and on earth. The silence is not of repose but extinction; and should solitary human dwelling catch his eye half-buried in the snow, he is sad for the sake of them whose destiny it is to abide far from the cheerful haunts of men, shrouded up in melancholy, by poverty held in thrall, or pining away in unvisited and untended disease.

But, in truth, the heart of human life is but imperfectly discovered from its countenance; and before we can know what the summer or what the winter yields for enjoyment or trial of our country's peasantry, we must have conversed with them in their fields and by their firesides; and made ourselves acquainted with the powerful ministry of the seasons, not over those objects alone that feed the eye and the imagination, but over all the incidents, occupations, and events that modify or constitute the existence of the poor.

I have a short and simple story to tell of the winter-life of the moorland cottager—a story but of one evening—with few events but of no signal catastrophe; but which may happily please those hearts whose delight it is to think on the humble underplots that are carrying on in the great Drama of Life.

Two cottagers, husband and wife, were sitting by their cheerful peat fire one winter evening, in a small lonely hut on the edge of a wide moor, at some miles distance from any other habitation.—There had been, at one time, several huts of the same kind erected close together, and inhabited by families of the poorest class of day-labourers who found work among the distant farms, and at night returned to dwellings which were rent free, with their little gardens, won from the waste. But one

family after another had dwindled away, and the turf-built huts had all fallen into ruins, except one that had always stood in the centre of this little solitary village, with its summer walls covered with the richest honeysuckles, and in the midst of the brightest of all the gardens. It alone now sent up its smoke into the clear winter sky—and its little end window, now lighted up, was the only ground star that shone towards the belated traveller, if any such ventured to cross, on a winter night, a scene so dreary and desolate. The affairs of the small household were all arranged for the night. The little rough poney that had drawn in a sledge, from the heart of the Black-Moss, the fuel by whose blaze the cotters were now sitting cheerily, and the little Highlnd cow, whose milk enabled them to live, were standing amicably together, under cover of a rude shed, of which one side was formed by the peat stack, and which was at once byre, and stable, and hen roost. Within, the clock ticked cheerfully as the fire light reached its old oak-wood case across the yellow sanded floor—and a small round table stood between, covered with a snow white cloth, on which were milk and oat cake, the morning, mid-day, and evening meal of these frugal and contented cotters. The spades and the mattocks of the laborer were collected into one corner, and showed that the succeeding day was the blessed sabbath—while on the wooden chimney piece was sealizing an open Bible ready for family worship.

The father and the mother were sitting together without opening their lips, but with their hearts overflowing with happiness. for on this Saturday-night they were, every minute, expecting to hear at the latch the hand of their only daughter, a maiden of about fifteen years, who was at service with a farmer over the hills. This dutiful child was, as they know, to bring home to them "her sair worn penny fee," a pittance which, in the beauty of her girl-hood, she earned singing at her work, and which in the benignity of that sinless time, she would pour with tears into the bosoms she so dearly loved. Forty shillings a year were all the wages of sweet Hannah Lee—but though she wore at her labor a tortoise shell comb in her auburn hair, and though in the kirk none were more becomingly arrayed than she, one half, at least, of her earnings were to be reserved for the holiest of all purposes, and her kind innocent heart was gladdened when she looked on the little purse that was, on the long expected Saturday night, to be taken from her bosom, and put with a blessing, into the hand of her father, now growing old at his daily toils.

Of such a child the happy cotters were thinking in their silence. And well might they be called happy. It is at that sweet season that filial piety is most beautiful. Their own Hannah, had just outgrown the mere unthinking gladness of childhood, but had not yet reached that time, when inevitable selfishness mixes with the pure current of love. She had begun to think on what her affectionate heart had felt so long; and when she looked on the pale face and bending frame of her mother, on the deepening wrinkles and whitening hairs of her father, often would she lie weeping for their sakes on her midnight bed—and wish that she was beside them as they slept, that she might kneel down and kiss them, and mention their names over and over again in her prayer. The parents whom before she had only loved, her expanding heart now also venerated. With gushing tenderness was now mingled a holy fear and an awful reverence. She had discern-

ed the relation in which she, an only child, stood to her poor parents now that they were getting old, and there was not a passage in Scripture that spake of parents or of children, from Joseph sold into slavery, to Mary weeping the Cross, that was not written, never to be obliterated, on her uncorrupted heart.

The father rose from his seat, and went to the door to look out into the night. The stars were in thousands—and the full moon was risen.—It was almost light as day, and the snow, that seem encrusted with diamonds, was so hardened by the frost that his daughter's homeward feet would leave no mark on its surface. He had been toiling all day among the distant Castle-woods, and stiff and wearied as he now was, he was almost tempted to go to meet his child, but his wife's kind voice dissuaded him and returning to the fireside, they began to talk of her whose image had been so long passing before them in their silence.

"She is growing up to be a bonny lassie," said the mother, "her long and weary attendance on me during my fever last spring kept her down awhile—but now she is sprouting fast and fair as a lily, and may the blessing of God be as dew and as sunshine to our sweet flower all the days she bloometh upon this earth." "Aye Agnes," replied the father "we are not very old yet—though we are getting older—and a few years will bring her to woman's estate, and what thing on this earth, think ye, human or brute, would ever think of injuring her?—Why I was speaking about her yestertay to the minister as he was riding by, and he told me that none answered at the Examination in the Kirk so well as Hannah. Poor thing—I well think she has all the bible by heart—indeed, she has read but little else—only some stories, too true ones, of the blessed martyrs, and some o' the auld songs o' Scotland, in which, there is nothing but what is good and which, to be sure, she sings, God bless her, sweeter than laverock." "Aye—were we both to die this very night she would be happy. Not that she would forget us, all the days of her life. But have you not seen, husband, that God always makes the orphan happy? None so little lonesome as they! They come to make friends o' all the bonny and sweet things in the world around them, and all the kind hearts in the world make friends o' them. They come to know that God is more especially the father o' them on each whose parents he has taken up to heaven—and therefore it is that they for whom so many have fears, fear not at all for themselves, but go dancing and singing along like children whose parents are both alive! Would it not be so with our dear Hannah? So douce and thoughtful a child—but never sad nor miserable—ready it is true to shed tears for little, but as ready to dry them up and break out into smiles! I know not why it is, husband, but this night my heart warms toward her beyond usual. The moon and stars are at this moment looking down upon her, and she looking up to them, as she is glinting homewards over the snow. I wish she were but here, and taking the comb out o' her bonny hair and letting it all fall down in clusters before the fire, to melt away the cranreuch!"

While the parents were thus speaking of their daughter, a loud sigh of wind came suddenly over the cottage, and the leafless ash-tree under whose shelter it stood, creaked and groaned dismally, as it passed by. The father started up, and going again to the door, saw that a sudden change had come over the face of the night. The moon had

nearly disappeared, and was just visiting in a dim yellow, glimmering den in the sky. All the remote stars which obscured, and only one or two faintly seemed in a sky that half an hour before was perfectly cloudless, but that was now driven with rack, and mist, and sleet. The whole atmosphere being in commotion. He stood for a single moment to observe the direction of this unforeseen storm, and then hastily asked for his staff. "I thought I had been more wether-wise—A storm is coming down from the Cairnbraehawse, and we shall have nothing but a wild night." He then whistled on his dog—an old sheep-dog, too old for its former labours—and set off to meet his daughter, who might then, for aught he knew, be crossing the Black-moss. The mother accompanied her husband to the door, and took a long frightened look at the angry sky. As she kept gazing, it became still more terrible. The last shred of blue was extinguished—the wind went whirling in roaring eddies, and great flakes of snow circled about in the middle air, whether drifted up from the ground or driven down from the clouds, the fear stricken mother knew not, but she at least knew, that it seemed a night of danger, despair, and death. "Lord have mercy on us James, what will become of our poor bairn!" But her husband heard not her words, for he was already out of sight in the snow storm, and she was left to the terror of her own soul in that lonesome cottage.

Little Hannah Lee had left her master's house, soon as the rim of the great moon was seen by her eyes, that had been long anxiously watching it from the window, rising, like a joyful dream, over the gloomy mountain-tops; and all by herself she tripped along beneath the beauty of the silent heaven. Still as she kept ascending and descending the knolls that lay in the bosom of the glen, she sang to herself a song, a hymn, or a psalm, without the accompaniment of the streams, now all silent in the frost; and ever and anon she stopped to try to count the stars that lay in some more beautiful part of the sky, or gazed on the constellations that she knew, and called them, in her joy, by the names they bore among the shepherds. There were none to hear her voice, or see her smiles, but the ear and eye of providence. As on she glided and took her looks from heaven, she saw her own little fireside—her parents waiting for her arrival—the bible opened for worship—her own little room kept so neatly for her, with its mirror hanging by the window, in which to braid her hair by the morning light—her bed prepared for her by her mother's hand—the primroses in her garden peeping through the snow—old Tray, who ever welcomed her home with his dim white eyes—the poney and the cow,—friends all, and inmates of that happy household. So stepped she along, while the snow-diamonds glittered around her feet, and the frost wove a wreath of lucid pearls around her forehead.

She had now reached the edge of the Black-moss, which lay half way between her master's and her father's dwelling, when she heard a loud noise coming down Glen-Scrae, and in a few seconds she felt on her face some flakes of snow. She looked up the Glen, and saw the snow-storm coming down, fast as a flood. She felt no fears; but she ceased her song; and had there been a human eye to look upon her there, it might have seen a shawdow on her face. She continued her course, and felt bolder and bolder every step that brought her nearer to her parent's house. But the snow-storm had

now reached the reached the Black moss, and the broad line of light that had lain in the direction of her home, was soon swallowed up and the child was in utter darkness. She saw nothing but the flakes of snow, interminably intermingled, and furiously wafted in the air, close to her head; she heard nothing but one wild, fierce, fitful howl. The cold became intense, and her little feet and hands were fast into insensibility.

"It is a fearful change," muttered the child of herself, but still she did not fear, for she had been born in a moorland cottage, and lived all her days among the hardships of the hills.—"What will become of the poor sheep," thought she,—but still she scarcely thought of her own danger, for innocence, and youth, and joy; are slow to think of aught evil befalling themselves, and thinking benignly of all living things, forgot their own fear in their pity of others' sorrow.—At last she could no longer discern a single mark on the snow, either of human steps, or of sheep-track, or the foot print of a wild-fowl. Suddenly, too, she felt out of breath and exhausted,—and shedding tears for herself at last sank down in the snow.

It was now that her heart began to quake for fear. She remembered stories of shepherds lost in the snow,—of a mother and child frozen to death on that very moor,—and, in a moment she knew that she was to die. Bitterly did the poor child weep, for death was terrible to her, who, though poor, enjoyed the bright little world of youth and innocence. The skies of heaven were dearer than she knew to her,—so were the flowers of the earth. She had been happy at her work—happy in her sleep—happy in her kirk on Sabbath. A thousand thoughts had the solitary child,—and in her own heart was a spring of happiness, pure and undisturbed as any fount that sparkles unseen all the year through in some quiet nook among the pastoral hills. But now there was to be an end to all this,—she was to be frozen to death—and lie there till the thaw might come and then her father would find her body, and carry it away to be buried in the kirk-yark.

The tears were frozen on her cheeks as soon as shed—and scarcely had her little hands strength to clasp themselves together, as the thought of overruling and merciful Lord came across her heart. Then, indeed, the fears of this religious child were calmed, and she heard without terror, the plover's wailing cry, and the deem boom of the bittern sounding in the moss. "I will repeat the Lord's prayer." And drawing her plaid more closely around her, she whispered beneath its inefficacious cover, "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,—thy kingdom come—thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Had human aid been within fifty yards, it could have been of no avail—eye could not see her—ear could not bear to hear in that howling darkness. But that low prayer was heard in the centre of eternity—and that little sinless child was lying in the snow; beneath the all-seeing eye of God.

The maiden having prayed to her Father in Heaven—then thought of her father on earth.—Alas! they were not far separated! The Father was lying but a short distance from his child;—He too had sunk down in the drifting snow, after having, in less than an hour, exhausted all the strength of fear, pity, hope, despair, and resignation, that could rise in a father's heart, blindly seeking to rescue his only child from death, thinking that one desperate exertion might enable them to perish in

each other's arms. There they lay within a stone's throw of each other, while a huge snow drift, was every moment piling itself up into more unsurmountable barrier between the dying parent and his dying child.

There was all this while a blazing fire in the cottage—a white spread table—and beds prepared for the family to lie down in peace. Yet was she who sat therein more to be pitied than the old man and the child stretched upon the snow. "I will not go seek them—that would be tempting providence—and wilfully putting out the lamp of life. No! I will not abide here, and pray for their souls!" Then, as she knelt down, looked she at the useless fire burning away so cheerfully, when all she loved might be dying of cold—and unable to bear the thought, she shrieked out a prayer, as if she might pierce the sky up to the very throne of God, and send with it her own miserable soul to plead before him for the deliverance of her child and husband. She then fell down in blessed forgetfulness of all trouble, in the midst of the solitary cheerfulness of that bright-burning hearth—and the bible, which she had been trying to read in the pauses of her agony, remained clasped in her hands.

Hannah Lee had been a servant for more than six months—and it was not to be thought that she was not beloved in her masters family. Soon after she had left the house, her master's son, a youth of about eighteen years, who had been among the hills, looking after the sheep, came home, and was disappointed to find that he had lost an opportunity of accompanying Hannah part of the way to her father's cottage. But the hour of eight had gone by, and not even the company of young William Grieve, could induce the kind hearted daughter to delay sitting out on her journey, a few minutes beyond the time promised to her parents. "I do not like the night," said William—"there will be a fresh fall of snow soon, or the witch of Glen Scrae is a liar, for a snow cloud is hanging o'er the Birch-tree-linn, and it may be down to the Black-moss as soon as Hannah Lee." So he called his two sheep dogs, that had taken their place under the long table before the window, and set out, half in joy, half in fear to overtake Hannah, and see her safely across the Black-moss.

The snow began to drift so fast, that before he had reached the head of the Glen, there was nothing to be seen but a little bit of the wooden rail of the bridge across the Sauch burn. William Grieve was the most active shepherd in a large pastoral parish—he had often passed the night among the wintry hills for the sake of a few sheep, and all the snow that ever fell from Heaven would not have made him turn back when Hannah Lee was before him; and as his terrified heart told him, in eminent danger of being lost. As he advanced, he felt that it was no longer a walk of love or friendship, for which he had been glad of an excuse. Death stared him in the face, and his young soul, now beginning to feel all the passions of youth, was filled with phrenzy. He had seen Hannah every day—at the fireside—at work—in the kirk—on holidays—at prayers—bringing supper to his aged parents—smiling and singing about the house from morning to night. She had often brought his own meal to him among the hills—and he now found that though he had never talked to her about love, except smilingly and playfully, that he loved her beyond father or mother or his own soul. "I will save thee Hannah," he cried with a

loud sob, "or lie down beside thee in the snow—and we will die together in our youth." A wild whistling wind went behind him, and the snow-flakes whirled so fiercely round his head, that he staggered on for a while in utter blindness. He knew the path that Hannah must have taken, and went forward shouting aloud, and stopping every twenty yards to listen, for a voice. He sent his well trained dogs over the snow in all directions—repeating to them her name, "Hannah Lee," that the dumb animals might, in their sagacity, know for whom they were searching; and as they looked up in his face, and set off to scour the moor, he almost believed that they knew his meaning, (and it is probable they did) and were eager to find in her bewilderment the kind maiden by whose hand they had so often been fed.—Often went they off into the darkness, and as often returned, but their looks showed that every quest had been in vain. Meanwhile the snow was of a fearful depth; and falling without intermission or diminution. Had the young shepherd then been alone, walking across the moor on his ordinary business, it is probable that he might have been alarmed for his own safety—nay that in spite of all his strength and agility, he might have sunk down beneath the inclemency of the night and perished. But now the passion of his soul carried him with supernatural strength along, and extricated him from wreath and pitfall. Still there was no trace of poor Hannah Lee—and one of his dogs at last came close to his feet, worn out entirely and afraid to leave its master—while the other was mute, and, as the shepherd thought, probably unable to force its way out of some hollow or through some floundering drift. Then he all at once knew that Hannah Lee was dead—and dashed himself down in the snow in a fit of passion. It was the first time that the youth had ever been sorely tried—all his hidden and unconscious love for the fair lost girl had flowed up from the bottom of his heart—and at once the sole object which had blessed his life and made him the happiest of the happy, was taken away and cruelly destroyed—so that sullen, wrathful, baffled, and despairing, there he lay, cursing his existence, and in too great agony to think of prayer. "God," he then thought, "has forsaken me—and why should he think on me, when he suffers one so good and beautiful as Hannah to be frozen to death." God thought both of him and Hannah—and through his infinite mercy forgave the sinner in his wild turbulence of passion. William Grieve had never gone to bed without joining in prayer—and he revered the Sabbath day and kept it holy. Much is forgiven to the human heart by him who so fearfully framed it; and God is not slow to pardon the love which one human being bears to another, in his frailty—even though that love forget or arraign his own unsleeping providence. His voice has told us to love one another—and William loved Hannah in simplicity, innocence, and truth. That she should perish was a thought so dreadful, that, in its agony, God seemed a ruthless being—"blow—blow—blow—and drift us up for ever—we cannot be far asunder—O Hannah—Hannah—think ye not that the fearful God has forsaken us?"

As the boy groaned these words passionately through his quivering lips, there was a sudden lowness in the air, and he heard the barking of his absent dog, while the one at his feet hurried off in the direction of the sound, and soon loudly joined the cry. It was not a bark of surprise—or anger—or fear—but recognition and love. William sprung

up from his bed in the snow, and with his heart knocking at his bosom even to sickness, he rushed headlong through the drifts, with a giant's strength, and fell down half dead with joy and terror beside the body of Hannah Lee.

But he soon recovered from that fit, and lifting the cold corpse in his arms, he kissed her lips, and her cheeks, and her forehead, and her closed eyes, till, as he kept gazing on her face in utter despair, her head fell back on his shoulder, and a long deep sigh came from her inmost bosom.—"She is yet alive thank God!"—and as that expression left his lips for the first time that night, he felt a badge of remorse: I said, O God, that thou hadst forsaken us—I am not worthy to be saved; but let not this maiden perish, for the sake of her parents, who have no other child." The distracted youth prayed to God with the same earnestness as if he had been beseeching a fellow-creature, in whose hand was the power of life and death. The presence of the Great Being was felt by him in the dark and howling wild, and strength was imparted to him as to a deliverer. He bore along the fair child in his arms, even as if she had been a lamb. The snow-drift blew not—the wind fell dead—a sort of glimmer, like that of an up breaking and departing storm, gathered about him—his dogs barked, and jumped, and burrowed joyfully in the snow—and the youth, strong in sudden hope, exclaimed, "With the blessing of God, who has not deserted us in our sore distress, will I carry thee, Hannah, in my arms, and lay thee down in the house of thy father." At this moment there was no stars in Heaven, but she opened her dim blue eyes upon him in whose bosom she was unconsciously lying, and said, as in a dream, "end the ribbon that ties up my hair, as a keepsake to William Grieve." "She thinks that she is on her death-bed, and forgets not the son of her master. It is the voice of God that tells me she shall now die, and that under His grace, I shall be her deliverer."

The short lived rage of the storm was soon over, and William could attend to the beloved being on his bosom. The warmth of his heart seemed to infuse life into her's; and as he gently placed her feet on the snow, till he muffled her up in his plaid, as well as in her own, she made an effort to stand, and with extreme perplexity and bewilderment faintly enquired, where she was, and what fearful catastrophe had befallen them? She was, however, too weak to walk; and as her young master carried her along; she murmured, "O William! what if my father be in the moor?—For if you who need care so little about me, have come hither, as I suppose, to save my life, you may be sure my father sat not within doors during the storm." As she spoke it was calm below, but the wind was still alive in the upper air, and cloud, rack, mist, and sleet, were all driving about in the sky. Out shone for a moment the pallid and ghostly moon, through a rent in the gloom, and by that uncertain light, came staggering the figure of a man,— "Father—Father," cried Hannah,—and his grey hairs were already on her cheek. The barking of the dogs and the shouting of the young shepherd had struck his ear, as the sleep of death was stealing over him, and with the last effort of benumbed nature, he had roused himself from that fatal torpor, and prest through the snow-wreath that had separated him from his child. As yet they knew not of his danger each had endured.—but each judged of the others suffering from their own, and father and daughter regarded one another as creatures rescued,

and hardly yet rescued from death.

But a few minutes ago, and the three human beings who loved each other so well, and now feared not to cross the Moor in safety, were, as they thought, on their death beds. Deliverance now shone upon them all like a gentle fire, dispelling that pleasant but deadly drowsiness; and the old man was soon able to assist William Grieve in leading Hannah along through the snow. Her color and her warmth returned, and her lover—for so might he well now be called—felt her heart gently beating against her side. Filled as that heart was with gratitude to God, joy in her deliverance, love to her father, and purest affection for her master's son, never before had the innocent maiden known what was happiness—and never more was she to forget it. The night was now almost calm, and fast returning to its former beauty—when the party saw the first twinkle of the fire through the low window of the Cottage of the Moor. They soon were at the garden gate—and to relieve the heart of the wife and mother within, they talked loudly and cheerfully—naming each other familiarly, and laughing between, like persons who had known neither danger nor distress.

No voice answered from within—no footstep came to the door, which stood open as when the father had left it in his fear, and now he thought with affright that his wife, feeble as she was, had been unable to support the loneliness, and had followed him out into the night, never to be brought home alive. As they bore Hannah into the house, this fear gave way to worse, for there upon the hard clay floor lay the mother upon her face, as if murdered by some savage blow. She was in the same deadly swoon into which she had fallen on her husband's departure three hours before. The old man raised her up, and her pulse was still—so was her heart—her face pale and sunken—and her body cold as ice. "I have recovered a daughter," said the old man, "but I have lost a wife;" and he carried her, with a groan, to the bed, on which he laid her lifeless body. The sight was too much for Hannah, worn out as she was, and who had hitherto been able to support herself in the delightful expectation of gladdening her mother's heart by her safe arrival. She, too, now swooned away, and, as she was placed on the bed beside her mother, it seemed, indeed, that death, disappointed of his prey on the wild moor, had seized it in the cottage, and by the fire side. The husband knelt down by the bed side, and held his wife's icy hand in his, while William Grieve, appalled and awe-stricken, hung over his Hannah, and inwardly implored God that the night's wild adventure might not have so ghastly an end. But Hannah's young heart soon began once more to beat—and soon as she came to her recollection, she rose up with a face whiter than ashes and free from all smiles, as if none had ever played there, and joined her father and young master in their efforts to restore her mother to life.

It was the mercy of God that had struck her down to the earth, insensible to the shrieking winds, and the fears that would otherwise have killed her. Three hours of that wild storm had passed over her head, and she heard nothing more than if she had been asleep in a breathless night of the summer dew. Not even a dream had touched her brain, and when she opened her eyes which, as she thought, had been by a moment shut, she had scarcely time to recal to her recollection the image of her husband rushing out into the storm,

and of a daughter therein lost, till she beheld that very husband kneeling tenderly by her bed-side, and that very daughter smoothing the pillow on which her aching temples reclined. But she knew from the white steadfast countenances before her that there had been tribulation and deliverance, and she looked on the beloved beings ministering by her bed, as more fearfully dear to her from the unimagined danger from which she felt assured they had been rescued by the arm of the Almighty.

There is little need to speak of returning recollection, and returning strength. They had all now power to weep, and power to pray. The Bible had been lying in its place ready for worship—and the father read aloud that chapter in which is narrated our Savior's act of miraculous power, by which he saved Peter from the sea. Soon as the solemn thoughts awakened by that act of mercy so similar to that which had rescued themselves from death had subsided, and they had all risen up from prayer, they gathered themselves in gratitude round the little table which had stood so many hours spread—and exhausted nature was strengthened and restored by a frugal and simple meal partaken of in silent thankfulness. The whole story of the night was then calmly recited—and when the mother heard how the stripling had followed her sweet Hannah into the storm, and borne her in his arms through a hundred drifted heaps—and then looked upon her in her pride, so young, so innocent, and so beautiful, she knew, that were the child indeed to become an orphan, there was one, who, if there was either trust in nature or truth in religion, would guard and cherish her all the days of her life.

It was not nine o'clock when the storm came down from Glen Scrag upon the Black moss, and now in a pause of silence the clock struck twelve. Within these three hours William and Hannah had led a life of trouble and joy, that had enlarged and kindled their hearts within them—and they felt that they were to live wholly for each other's sake. His love was the proud and exulting love of a deliverer, who, under Providence had saved from the frost and the snow the innocence and the beauty of which his young passionate heart had been so desperately enamoured and he now thought of his own Hannah Lee ever more moving about in his father's house, not as a servant, but as a daughter—and when some few happy years had gone by, his own most beautiful and most loving wife. The innocent maiden still called him her young master—but was not ashamed of the holy affection which she now knew that she had long felt for the fearless youth on whose bosom she had thought herself dying in that cold and miserable moor. Her heart leaped within her breast when she heard her parents bless him by his name—and when he took her hand into his before them, and vowed before the power who had that night saved them from the snow, that Hannah Lee should be his wedded wife—she wept and sobbed as if her heart would break in a fit of strange and insupportable happiness.

The young shepherd rose to bid them farewell—"my father will think I am lost," said he, with a grave smile, "and my Hannah's mother knows what it is to fear for a child." So nothing was said to detain him, and the family went with him to the door. The skies smiled as serenely as if a storm had never swept before the stars—the moon was sinking from her meridian, but in cloudless splendor—and the hollow of the hill was hushed as that of heaven. Danger there was none over the placid

night scene—the happy youth soon crost the Black Moss, now perfectly still—and, perhaps, just as he was with a shudder of gratitude, on the very spot where his sweet Hannah Lee had so nearly perished she was lying down to sleep in her innocence, or dreaming of one now dearer to her than all on earth but her parents.

EREMUS.

The proposed Tariff.

SPEECH OF MR. McLANE, of Delaware,

On the Tariff, in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 26th April, 1820.

Mr. Hardin's motion to postpone the bill indefinitely, being before the House, Mr. McLane spoke as follows.—

Mr. Speaker—I am too sensible of the value of time, at this protracted period of the session, to task the patience of the House longer than may be absolutely necessary to submit the views I entertain of this subject. When efforts so zealous, urged as they are both by the force of individual character and best talents of the house, are made to defeat the principle object of this bill, I owe it to that quarter of the country which I represent, and which is deeply interested in the result of this question, to contribute my aid in behalf of a measure which I believe is calculated to mitigate the national distress and promote the national prosperity.

Besides the general principles which are involved in this subject, there are other considerations, to which I will beg leave first to refer, why this motion should not prevail.

I am free to say, that I do not entirely approve of the bill in its present form. It embraces too many subjects, and presents a combination of object which I fear will counteract, in the extent of its range, some of the benefits designed to be afforded to that portion of the national labor which most imperiously requires to be cherished. But though it may be in some measure true that the bill proposes more than the state of the country absolutely requires, the present motion does not propose enough. If the bill is too large, and calls upon us to do too much, it is no reason why we should do nothing. It is our duty to modify it, and adapt it to the wants and condition of the country.

And though it be true, as has been urged, that we are now near the close of a protracted session, we should remember, that it has been characterized by few of those measures to which the anxious eyes of the nation have been constantly directed, and that the subject now before us is one neither of the first impression, nor hastily got up. It has been before the people and the councils of the country for many years, and forced upon the reflection of the least considerate, by the pressure of the private and public distress which this bill proposes to relieve. The subject underwent a full investigation when the existing tariff was established; and the great error at that time was, that there was not afforded a degree of protection commensurate with the evils. The inadequacy of the existing tariff has been fully tested by past experience, and throughout the present session our pow-

ers have been invoked to supply its defects. We have already expended a week in investigating the details of this bill, which will be worse than loss of time if we separate without coming to a decision. If the protecting arm of the government is to be extended to the national labor, the policy should be announced without delay; otherwise, it may prove ineffectual for the object. Considerable capital is already embarked in manufacturing establishments, and if it be our interest to preserve it there, and to cherish its employment, it is indispensably necessary that we should inspire the capitalists with confidence in our policy, to prevent them from withdrawing it, or to save it from actual loss. If we fail to do so now, the remedy may be administered when the disease has sunk below its efficacy. A determination to foster this particular employment of the national capital may prove effectual now, even with an inadequate tariff, when without such a determination, it may be impossible hereafter to repair the ruins which might have been prevented by seasonable aid.

I am willing to unite with gentlemen in paring down this bill to reasonable limits, provided it shall be allowed to give abundant encouragement to the principal articles of public necessity and afford ample relief to the exigencies of the national labor; but I will take it as it is, rather than get nothing. It is our duty to relieve the distress which pervades the country, and there is much greater danger, in my opinion, that we shall do less, than more, than is necessary.

I beg leave also to divest this subject of the particular character with which it has been ingeniously attempted to stamp it. To associate it with sectional interests, and particular classes, is treating it unfairly, and resembles much more the indulgence of narrow prejudices, than the pursuit of a liberal policy for national purposes. It is calculated more to encrease a common evil, than to promote a general good, or to conduct us to an enlightened decision. The object is purely national, embracing the best interests of all parts of the community; it is to promote a common end, for a common benefit; to cherish the national labor and capital wherever they may be found, and to conduct them to profitable and nationable results. If the encouragement of that portion of our labor which can be employed in the manufactures of the country, will not do this, it ought not to be afforded. I claim for them no particular aid beyond what may contribute to the good of the whole mass of our national industry.

But the tariff has been assailed also with great confidence, and particularly by the honorable gentleman from Virginia, who spoke a few days ago with so much ability, Mr. Barbour, because of its revenue character. It is said it encreases the rate of duty on foreign merchandise generally, including articles of necessity, because of the high prohibitory duties upon those which are designed to be more particularly encouraged, and that it will finally lead to a system of internal taxation or excise. I confess I have not much reliance upon this bill, for purposes of revenue. I do not advocate it upon this ground; I value it only for the protection it would afford to the labor of the country, and I repeat my wish that it had been confined to this object, leaving the subject of revenue to its appropriate jurisdiction. But the objection is not so important as has been imagined; I am willing to look to a system of impost as the chief source of revenue, while it is adequate to the purpose; but

gentlemen must know, that this cannot be the case for any great length of time. However anxious we may be to avert it, the day will soon come when this nation will be compelled to rely upon its internal resources for its fiscal exigencies, and it therefore becomes our duty, by a prudent foresight to strengthen those internal resources, that we may be prepared for it, when it shall come. How can we expect to rely upon a system whose means are diminishing in the same proportion, that our demands upon it are augmenting? The first fruits of the impost system were poured into our Treasury by a commerce the most extensive and prosperous, and our wants were those of a young nation, with a thin population, and cheap and limited institutions. But the growth of the nation has been rapid beyond example; our territory has been much more than doubled, and our institutions have become extended in proportion to the limits of our territory and population. We have raised armies, erected fortifications, and planted works of defence around our whole frontier. We have built and equipped fleets which are indispensable guards of the rights, and indissolubly associated with the pride and glory of the nation. In short, we have taken a high rank among the nations of the earth, and our expences are necessarily more than quadrupled, and in the nature of things must continue to increase. But in all this time, while our national progress has been upon this gigantic scale, our foreign commerce has borne no proportionable augmentation; on the contrary, it has been rather wasting away, until that which could formerly overflow your Treasury, cannot be sworn to half its demands. The tariff, however, so far from abandoning the impost, proposes to extract from it larger means; but it does not do this altogether on account of the encouragement afforded to manufactures, but in pursuance of the express recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, who, with the enlightened independence which so highly distinguishes his public conduct, has candidly exposed the extent of our wants & the inadequacy of the supply. I request permission to refer to his report at the present session as conclusive upon this subject. The Secretary of the Treasury, after particularly exhibiting the ordinary estimates of such a report, observes, "Under all the circumstances, it is respectfully submitted that the public interest requires that the revenue be augmented, or that the expenditure be diminished. Should an increase of revenue be deemed expedient, a portion of the deficit may be supplied by an addition of the duties now imposed upon various articles of foreign merchandize, and by a reasonable duty upon sales at auctions, but it is not probable that any modification of the existing tariff can supersede the necessity of resorting to internal taxation, if the expenditure is not diminished." The report then proceeds to recommend the present, as a favorable moment to afford efficient protection to our cotton, woollen and iron interests, if it can be done consistently with the general interests of the nation. Our session is now about to close and we have not diminished our expenditure, nor do I believe it would be practicable or advisable to do so. I would be unwilling to reduce the army or the navy, and I know of no object of retrenchment which would not weaken our strength at home, and our respectability abroad. A resort to other means of supply is therefore unavoidable. If we should be obliged to draw that supply from our home labor, it might be drawn safely and efficiently, if we now, by a wise

policy, render that labor flourishing, and save it from the deadly influence of foreign competition. The tariff does not create the necessity of this resort, but is auxiliary to the supply; it draws as much as possible from the impost that it may be compelled to extract less from internal means, and at the same time, it wisely augments the internal means by invigorating the arm of our own industry, and keeping at home that large amount of national wealth, which is now perpetually going out of the country, to enrich the foreign, and impoverish our own labor. Who does not see that any measure which tends to augment the stock of national wealth, must at the same time, increase the individual resources and swell the national supply? The honorable gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Barbour,) has particularly deprecated a system of internal taxation or excise, and principally because of the expensiveness of its collection. I have no such hostility. I believe the people have less to apprehend from a system of direct, than one of indirect taxation. In the former, they see and feel the weight of their burthen; in the latter, it may be multiplied to an alarming degree, before its enormity can be detected. A moderate system of internal taxes, is the safest and most certain source of supply, and in its nature will always be less oppressive than any other. Nor is it by any means clear that it is more expensive than the impost. The revenue in both cases, is paid by the consumer, who also pays the expences of the system. In the case of the impost, he pays the merchant's profits, in addition to the duty; and are not these equivalent to the expences of a system of internal taxes? But, sir, unfortunately for the consumer under the impost system, he pays nearly a moiety of his price for the benefit of the foreign laborer, and thus subtracts from the fund of public wealth, that which should be kept in circulation at home. I cannot entertain a doubt that it would be the interest of this nation to foster its manufacturing labor and capital, even at the risk of a temporary discrimination in its revenue. The labor which would thus receive encouragement, would soon attain the capacity to bear an equivalent proportion of the national burthens, and by encreasing all the streams of supply, ultimately enrich the public treasury. If it be necessary now for the government to stretch forth its arm to shield this infant branch of the national labor, from foreign rivalry, the day is not distant, when in its turn, it will give vigour and strength to the national sinews.

Having said this much, Mr. Speaker, in regard to the objections against the Tariff as a whole, I will proceed now to consider the general principles upon which I think its great objects may be maintained and recommended to our adoption.

I was fully aware of the principles of the writers upon political economy, which have been so earnestly and ably relied upon by the opponents of the Tariff, and though I am by no means disposed to involve in a common censure these principles and their authors, they appear to me to be unsafe guides in this discussion, where they are not sanctioned by experience, and tested by the practical operation of national policy. Much of the numerous treatises upon political economy consists in plausible theories founded upon a state of things which, in fact, have no existence, and with regard to the most of these theories, the greatest difference of opinion prevails among the authors themselves. Among these numerous theorists, each is the stout

advocate of his own system, and the world has not yet finally decided between them. One contends that agricultural labor is the only profitable source of wealth, and that manufacturing capital is unproductive—this is denied by another who advocates some other favorite branch of industry. A third is the advocate of commercial capital; another prefers the home trade; and a fifth contends for the superiority of a foreign commerce—so that scarcely any two of them agree, when they come to carry their respective systems throughout the details, and are yet litigating many of the principles which have been so confidently relied upon in this debate. Sir, it is the course of true wisdom, in us, to leave them to their employment, and adopt those principles only, which we find in practical and successful use. With these as our data, we must adapt our measures to our own wants and the actual condition of the world.

Now Sir, whatever contrariety of opinion may prevail, in regard to the mass of the theories upon this subject, there is a common foundation for them all, and that is, that the source of individual and national wealth is *labor*, and that the degree of the former, will be in proportion to the activity of the latter. We may also disagree as to the particular mode of employment in which this *labor* will be most productive, but all will agree, that it must be *employed in some way*. It must be made active, and if necessary, must be *stimulated to activity*. The evils of an unemployed, inactive labor, are always in proportion to its capacity, and all the vices which follow in the train of an idle population, will soon chastise a nation whose councils are inattentive to the employment of its labor. I am not the advocate of any particular branch of labor. I believe it is best, in general, that it should be diversified. I can have no idea of a nation purely agricultural, commercial or manufacturing. Their interests are mutual, and the advantage of each is always promoted, by encouraging to a certain extent the prosperity of the others. I am free to say, however, that in the United States, the preference should be given to the *agriculture* of the country. This should be the basis of our strength, the great fountain of our resources, and in the nature of things it always must be so. There is therefore no design to change the agricultural character of the nation into a manufacturing one, as has been so seriously deprecated in this debate. Such fears are altogether imaginary. At least nine tenths of the power and influence of this country are agricultural, and it is utterly impossible that a course of policy can be pursued, for any length of time, which shall, in any degree, subvert that interest. The agriculturalist understands his interests, and will not be slow in resisting any serious encroachment upon them. In a popular government like ours, his resistance always will be prompt and effectual. Even in England, extended as are her manufactures, the agricultural interest is always predominant; and there is no instance in all the struggles with regard to the grain laws, and other measures in which these two great interests have been opposed, that the agriculturalists have not prevailed.

It is clearly among the first duties of a nation to make the labor of its citizens active, and direct it to the most profitable results. Not by undue means, to stimulate any particular branch of labor, to the ruin or injury of any other; but to stimulate the aggregate of its own, against the aggregate of foreign labor; and to protect any particular branch of its own labor, against the rivalry of foreign policy. If a

nation expects to become wealthy and powerful, it must exert itself to supply its wants by its own labor, rather than depend upon foreign labor for articles of the first necessity.

The principle is not only sound in theory, but is that which is in practical operation in every nation, who understands its own interest. They *sell all, and buy nothing* with which their own labor can supply them. Let us look to the example of England. She is agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. The state of her agriculture is equal to that of any part of the globe; her manufacturing interests more extensive than in any other. Her policy uniformly has been, to cherish her manufacturing labor as auxiliary to her national wealth, and to resist all foreign competition: It is manifested in the earliest dawnings of her history. She began with encouraging the manufacture of the coarse articles which constituted her prime wants, and afterwards followed up her policy with an unceasing assiduity, until she not only shielded her own labor from the competition of other nations, but in a great measure crippled their labor at home, and became the source of supply for all the world. Have we not seen the effects of this policy diffusing themselves throughout every branch of her industry, and over every part of her empire, until, by this means, there has been reared up a mass of wealth and power almost irresistible? It is true, we have been referred to England, for an example of the evils of what has been termed the manufacturing system, and her national debt; her insurrectional temper, and mass of pauperism, have been ingeniously urged in the debate. But these are not the effects of her manufacturing system. They are the result of the expensive wars in which she has been perpetually involved, and the insupportable weight of taxation consequent upon them; of a policy which has kept her continually embroiled, by intermeddling in the disputes of others, when she had none of her own on hands: a policy to which she would long since have fallen a victim, but for those abundant streams of wealth which her active labor continually poured into her lap; and, which she so lavishly drained in the cause of her unhallowed ambition. It does not follow that we are to imitate her in these respects, because, like her, we afford protection to our home labor; and I cannot believe that we shall be likely to beget treasonable insurrections by rewarding the occupation of the citizen with ease and cheerfulness. Insurrections, are the fruits of an idle, discontented, population;—they may be produced by the neglect, but not by the watchful protection of the Government. The same policy was early adopted, and has been ever since pursued by France, Holland, Prussia, Italy, and many other powers of Europe; and all, who are at all conversant with their history, know, that similar effects proved the wisdom of affording national encouragement to national labor. The famous continental system of Bonaparte shews that he early discerned this real source of national wealth and power. When meditating the destruction of the British empire, he knew very well the source of her strength, and he wisely conceived the policy of drying it up. Had his ambition been tempered with some portion of patience, and he had consented to wait a few years for the gradual success of his policy, it would have been more omnipotent than his arms. His example, however, has not been lost upon the other nations of Europe; and though they did not yield to his schemes, Russia, and almost every other nation, excepting Spain and Portugal,

have voluntarily adopted it. The principle of the Russian tariff is, *to receive nothing from abroad that she possesses skill and labor to make at home.* Spain and Portugal are the victims of a different policy. They adopt the principles which, are every where written, and no where practised. Spain stands a solitary beacon, to warn us of her fatal example, which buried the highest spirit and best capacity in the miseries of idleness and luxury, and drove her population to seek a remedy through the dangerous paths of revolt and insurrection. If, Sir, I may be permitted to refer, for an historical fact, to the Hook from Philadelphia, as it has been called, in which the zeal and ability of its author have embodied a mass of the most useful and important information; the case of Portugal affords the most striking instance of the effects of both theories. Portugal did adopt the policy of encouraging her *manufacturing* as auxiliary to her *national labor*, and those who are acquainted with her early history, will remember the success which crowned her exertions; but in the midst of her system, she was persuaded to consent to the admission of British merchandize, as the price of vending her Port wines in England. Her own labor immediately fell a victim to foreign competition, and her situation afterwards, is the best lesson we can draw upon the subject. The efforts of England to prostrate the labor of other countries, are not confined to Portugal—she carries them into every country, and she practices every expedient calculated to subserve her purpose. We know that her agents are scattered every where throughout the United States, and that they are unwearied in their exertions. In all their public speeches, the members of her Parliament betray their jealousy of our manufacturing prosperity; and at the same moment that her hired writers and journalists* are employed to assail public sentiment here, by denouncing the evils and immoral tendency of manufacturing establishments, the Government heaps bounties upon them and cherishes their growth at home, while they are sending their fabrics into all countries as auxiliaries to their writers.

I do not refer to the practice of other nations, however, merely for proof of the soundness of the principle of affording rational encouragement to national labor; but, as evincing the necessity of our adopting similar regulations to counteract their policy. If the principle, that "things should be left to regulate themselves," be true, it is so only, when all nations observe it: it ceases to be practicable with the rest, when any one disregards it. If we were entirely insulated from the rest of the world, and carried on all our transactions within our own country, it might be urged upon us with considerable plausibility.—But we are a part of the community of nations, throughout which our intercourse is to be conducted, and all our exchanges made, and we are therefore sensible to the regulations in every part of it. If the same rule were universal among all nations, we might calculate upon an equal participation in all common advantages, and that our enterprize would push its own reward. But, if the regulations of other nations interfere with the natural course of things, if they obstruct the ordinary channels of business, and seek to confer advantages on *their own labor*, which it would not otherwise possess, we must either adopt countervailing measures, or become the victim of their policy. We have already

seen the extent of their regulations, pursued too with the express view of cramping the natural spring of our enterprize. If they receive the products of our agriculture, it is not to reciprocate the exchange, but from necessity, to supply their own wants; nor are they driven even to this expedient, until the scarcity among themselves makes it indispensable, while the products of all our other labor are subjected to a perpetual exclusion. The effect of this policy on the part of foreign nations, is to render our own raw products in a great measure useless, and to confer on the foreign labor a monopoly in our own market. These are unnatural advantages, which must be counteracted by similar encouragements to the home industry. If *foreigners stimulate their industry*, we must stimulate *ours* also: if they preserve a preference in their market, we must give to our labor a preference in *ours*; as they contract their wants of us, we must contract *ours* of them; if they pursue undue means to labor for us, we must take care to labor for *ourselves*; a contrary policy would render us dependent upon foreigners for every thing, since by their system of encouragement they can undermell us in any thing.

The system is not a new one in the United States. We have always deemed it our duty to protect the *home labor* against *foreign competition*. Our duties upon the agricultural products of foreign countries, were not imposed for purposes of *revenue*, but for the protection of our own agricultural industry.—And though gentlemen may be disposed to regard these regulations lightly now, because of the peculiar condition of foreign countries heretofore, they are nevertheless indicative of the sense we entertain of our true policy; nor should it be forgotten, that East India cotton is already imported into the United States, cheaper than it can be procured from the Southern states; and that the day may not be distant, when the competition in this article will be much more formidable.

We have adopted the same system also, for the protection of the commercial enterprize of the country. The heavy foreign tonnage, the high rate of duties upon merchandize imported in foreign vessels; bounties allowed on the exportation of fish; tonnage and drawback granted to fishing vessels; the exclusion of foreign vessels from the coasting trade, and the entire system of navigation laws, are evidently designed to give a preference to *American ships and enterprize*, over those of *foreigners*. I do not refer to these, in the spirit of complaint; far from it; the wisdom of the policy is apparent in its effects. Nor do I refer to them to shew, that, because we have done much for commerce, we should therefore do something for manufactures; but I refer to them, as demonstrating the utility of the doctrine, of leaving things to regulate themselves; as evincing the necessity of national protection for national labor, and of counteracting the effect of *foreign competition upon our home enterprize*, in whatever channel it may be employed.

But if the encouragement we have already given be insufficient for the purpose; if against these the foreign policy is able to raise its aim and paralyze our energies; if, in short, the labor of the country is now idle and unemployed, and an extension of the system of encouragement be necessary to render it active, shall we stop short of the object? Or shall we not rather afford it the utmost stimulus? What then, give me leave to ask, sir, is the present condition of this country? Do we require witnesses to be examined here, or before our committees,

* See the works of Southey and others; especially the letters of Esprella, ascribed to Mr. S.

to inform us of the want of employment, and the scenes of individual distress, and public embarrassment which every where prevail? Or are we to set down and calculate in figures their weight and extent? We are assembled here from all quarters of this extensive empire, and every gentleman brings with him a knowledge of private and public suffering beyond example! The Hon. Speaker, in the eloquent speech he delivered a few days ago, described to us the condition of the manufacturing establishments in the East, where, all admit, the closest economy is practised. But the East is not singular in its scenes of decaying houses, deserted establishments, and individual ruin; they are presented wherever manufacturing capital has been employed, and every one must see the ruin which has fallen upon thousands of our citizens, who formerly obtained their living in this species of labor. But, sir, I do not confine my observation to this class only; I invite gentlemen, to look at the conditions of the country at large, of all classes of labor, in every part, for it is to this sickening mass of general suffering, that the remedy is to be administered.—Consider the low price of property, as well real estate, as every description of our products—look at the decaying towns and villages, which are every where presented; at the thousands of the laboring classes of the community deprived of employment; at the numerous bankruptcies, which seem to blacken your cities, and fill them with dismay, and, almost, despair; at the mass of enterprise and skill, and science, now enfeebled, and borne down by cares, and weeping over a state of deplorable inactivity! Consider the universal stagnation in every branch of industry, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing! How is the face of this great country changed? Where late reigned plenty, and was heard the active hum of business, now meagre scarcity prevails, and idleness palsies the human energies; the poor are wretched, the man of large real estate lives only by the most rigid economy!

And what, sir, is the cause of all this? The answer is not difficult: The artificial state of things which succeeded our revolutionary struggle, and which with the stimulus given by our late war, has hitherto sustained us, has suddenly changed; the channels of our wealth are dried up—our labor is thrown out of employment by foreign competition. Give me leave, sir, to trace these causes more particularly.

Before the establishment of our independence, we relied for our supplies principally upon the labor of England, whose policy it was to preserve that state of dependence and discourage all efforts in her colonies to manufacture for themselves. But the successful termination of that memorable conflict, defeated her policy and gave a new spring to our enterprise, and the same spirit by which it was achieved dictated a resort to our own resources to give it perpetuity. The subject was almost the first that occupied our national deliberations, and the report of the illustrious man who then presided over the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton, portrayed with a prophetic hand the true course of national policy. It would have been pursued long ago, but for those desolating wars which soon afterwards broke out in Europe, and which has continued ever since, until very recently, with scarcely any intermission, and cramped both the agricultural and commercial enterprise of those nations. Their population was drawn from these employments to man their fleets and fill the ranks of their armies; they had little time for the cultivation of the peaceful arts, and we

became their growers and carriers. In such a state of things the population of the country at that time found full employment in the agricultural and commercial pursuits, and in the multiplicity of handicraft and other employments, to which a flourishing state of those two great branches of industry always give rise.

The demand abroad exceeded our means of supply; we received high prices for all our produce; our commerce penetrated all parts of the world; every man found constant demand for his labor; and the capital of the country had a brisk circulation; we exchanged all our products for the fabrics of foreign countries under great advantages, and increased in wealth and power with an unexampled rapidity. But a new state of things has taken place. Those wars have terminated, and the world is at peace. The population which filled the fleets and armies of Europe is withdrawn, and is now turned to agricultural and commercial pursuits. We no longer possess the exclusive advantages in these respects, they neither require our ships, nor our agricultural products. Their demand for our surplus produce, will diminish annually; for they are rapidly carrying into practical operation their policy of creating their own supply. We all know, too, that the India trade never did, and never will, require any part of our products; it deals principally in money and operates as a perpetual drain of our specie. If, in connection, with these causes, we consider our increasing population, the result is, that our wants of Europe are augmenting and theirs of us are diminishing. As we can export less, we must raise less; we cannot employ the same quantity of labor, and all those industrious people who were occupied in feeding the demands of a prosperous state of agriculture and commerce, are cast upon society without the means of subsistence. The result is, also, that as foreign nations will not take our surplus produce, in exchange for the articles for which we rely upon them, we must go in debt for the amount, and without any means, that I can discover, of making payment. The balance of trade against us, last year, was twenty eight millions of dollars, and every one must see that, as the wants of foreign nations are annually diminishing, this balance must increase with the same proportion. What, though it may be true, as has been contended, that the present embarrassments may be occasioned in some degree by the inordinate extension of Bank capital, and the imprudent speculations of individuals; it neither makes the evils less, nor varies the remedy. If the distress be at all ascribable to this source, it is more because of the capital having been suddenly withdrawn from circulation, than because it was ever thrown into use. No doubt much of the individual embarrassment which now prevails would have been spared, if such an accumulation of Bank capital had not been made. But it cannot be disguised that this capital had become the standard of the business and transactions of the country, and if it had been permitted to continue, the labor of the country would in time have redeemed it. It has been, however, suddenly taken up—a stagnation of business, scarcity of a circulating medium, sacrifice of property, and want of employment ensue. The necessity for the interposition of Congress, is only increased therefore; and as we refuse to create a national currency, the duty becomes more imperative to provide another remedy. The remedy is, to foster the national industry, to create a market at home for our surplus, and to make for ourselves what

we should be obliged otherwise to import from abroad.
We are here met by the objection, that if this necessity exist, labor will itself take the direction, without our interference.

That the necessity does exist, no one can doubt: it is palpable—it has existed for some years, and yet the labor has not taken the direction. On the contrary, a great portion of the capital heretofore embarked in almost every branch of industry is now idle; the distress is progressive, and the manufacturing labor is retrograding. The memorials from all quarters of the country prove this. I can speak from my own knowledge, of that part of the country which I represent, the manufacturing interest of which is by no means the least important. Of the state of manufactures there, I could draw a picture, without the aid of imagination, of the most gloomy nature; suffice it to say, however, that more than a moiety of the labor formerly employed in these establishments, is now without business; that many of the establishments are actually suspended, and that others will soon follow, without the encouragement now contemplated. I shall not deny that this state of things may be owing, in some degree, to the immense quantities of British goods with which this country has been inundated by the foreign merchant and manufacturer; but this only augments the evil—it is a striking illustration of the effects of foreign competition, in the continuance of which the British manufacturer, as well as his government, has an immediate interest. The honorable gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) is mistaken, however, in supposing that the American manufacturer calculates his profits upon his *own* capital, though, if he did, as he was encouraged by his government to invest it, it would afford no reason why he should now be abandoned in the day of his adversity. Such establishments, no doubt, feel the pressure more than others, but none are free from it, and even those which have been sacrificed at public sale, and passed into the hands of new owners at reduced prices, are unable to resist foreign competition.

The truth is, sir, that labor and capital will not of themselves, become immediately or extensively employed in manufactures, without the fostering aid of government, especially in seasons of great distress. They are not so immediately productive in these occupations, and in times of pressure and embarrassment, men look, and are obliged to look, more to an immediate profit and relief, than to ultimate and permanent advantage. In times of extreme need, our daily wants must be satisfied, we dread the slow progress of permanent success—Besides this, the changing from one business to another is always an affair of time, and has to encounter the force of old habits, and many other impediments extremely difficult to surmount. We see the force of habit constantly exemplified in the stubborn prejudice which is given to foreign fabrics which we have long been accustomed to use, over domestic productions of an equal or even superior quality. The knowledge of such a prejudice, too, cannot fail to deter the capitalist from encountering it. The first impulse of such necessity would be discerned in the manufacturing in families for their home consumption, and even this is slow.—But Manufacturing Establishments, which are to afford employment to the labor of the country, upon a scale commensurate with our condition, require both capital and skill. Property of a considerable value must be purchased, improvements made, and costly machinery constructed, which are

not adapted to other pursuits; and in the acquisition of skill, capital also, as well as time must be consumed. Agriculture may be pursued without much capital, and there are few who do not possess sufficient knowledge to cultivate the land, in which but little risk is required; but a failure in the manufacturing enterprise, is frequently attended with entire ruin. The apprehension of their risks, in competition with the foreigners, whose skill has been matured by a century, and whose capital has grown up under the invigorating hand of national encouragement, is, of itself, sufficient to forbid the experiment. It is, moreover, the result of the experience of all times and ages, that the success of manufactures has depended upon governmental aid—they have never flourished any where without it. And if encouragement has been found necessary in other nations, and in early periods, how much more is it required in this country, where, in addition to the general considerations and intrinsic difficulties already referred to, we have to contend with the bounties and premiums of other nations conferred with the express view of stifling our infant enterprise, and preserving their mature ascendancy! Such a rivalry is too unequal to be encountered. Without public aid the contest would be hopeless.

The case is fairly presented then sir, in which, from various causes, our home productions cannot stand a competition with those of foreign nations in our market; and in which in our national industry is incapable of being stimulated by the rivalry of foreign industry. In such a case, the best writers upon political economy pronounce the interposition of the Government necessary.* In such a case the most liberal aid cannot possibly do harm since it only accelerates a state of things, which it is necessary for the interests of the country should take place. Sir, it would be unwise to await the slow and miserable progress of our unassisted labor in such a conflict, marked as it would be, by the evils of individual want and public imbecility. Nor, Sir, can we forget our obligation to those who have already embarked their fortune in manufacturing establishments, in the full confidence that their efforts would be cherished and sustained by the national protection.

The degree in which the encouragement shall be afforded is then, Sir, the only remaining question. I am willing that this should be measured by the capacity of our labor, and the obstacles with which it has to contend. *But it should be sufficient to produce a successful rivalry, and secure the preference in the home market.* I do not advocate the policy of prematurely drawing the labor from one branch of industry to another; by extraordinary encouragement or, by high duties to create a capacity which is to be useful some twenty years hence. But, where we possess the capacity which, by a due preference in our own market, would supply our consumption with those articles, with the raw material of which, our own country abounds; there, I contend the duty becomes imperious to cherish the capacity and stimulate it to the highest activity. It is in this point of view among others, that the policy of the friends of the Tariff avoids the narrow construction now put upon the visionary theories of political economists—it is not entirely giving a new direction to the labour of the country, or creating new habits and employments at a great expense upon other classes. It finds the capacity existing; it looks to the direction which men's own dispositions and

* See Ganilh.

the course of events here given to the labor, and finding it struggling with a foreign competition, it steps into its aid, cherishes its resources, and secures them the scope of the home market. But the relief should be prompt and effectual. If the first Tariff, had gone to the extent now proposed, many of the evils of which we now complain would have been avoided. It is no answer to say that the Tariff was then deemed sufficient—and if the manufacturers then believed it would be, it only proves that they desired no extravagant aid. One thing however is certain, that Congress did not fix the duties at as high a rate as was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the result has clearly proved its entire inadequacy.

Do gentlemen doubt the capacity of our labor to supply our home consumption with all the articles of prime necessity, the great objects of every provident government? I refer them to the progress which has been already made under all disadvantages in the manufacture of coarse Cottons and Woolens, Iron, Glass, Paper, Leather and Cordage. In quality they are in all respects equal, and in many instances superior to the foreign article. Cramped as we have been, we have manufactured one third of our Cotton crop, and with the few hands which the owners of these establishments have been able to employ, they have supplied clothing for the Army and Navy, and gradually introduced their fabrics into most parts of the interior of the country. Of each of these branches of Manufactures, our own Country affords the raw material in abundance, and for the raw material of iron, glass, leather and cordage, we have no demand abroad. The raw material of iron and glass is entirely worthless unless used in the construction of the fabrics of this manufacture, and are by that means constituted a new and exhaustless source of wealth to the nation. If therefore, we depend upon the foreign supply for these articles, besides leaving our labor idle, we abandon this source of wealth at home, and pay a premium to a foreign nation for converting unprofitable materials into articles of great profit and advantage to their labor, at our expense! And yet it has been said in the debate that our manufactures contribute nothing to the national wealth! Sir, let us consider the operation of manufacturing labor upon the wealth of the nation. It would appear to my mind to be a proposition too clear for argument that a nation who labors to supply its own wants, instead of hiring foreigners to do it, as certainly grows rich by the operation, as does an individual who pursues the same process. If instead of sending abroad twenty millions of dollars annually, to pay the British manufacturer for his fabrics, we should make them at home, by labor which would be otherwise unemployed, then if we should not save to the country that twenty millions of dollars, there can be no confidence in mathematical certainty. I invite the attention of gentlemen to a few calculations as to the effect of employing the home labor in this way.

England draws the raw material of her cotton, woolen, and leather manufactures principally from other countries, and yet Colquhoun estimates her clear gain per annum, upon these three articles alone, deducting the cost of the raw material, at fifty three million pounds sterling. This is the result of a system which buys the raw material and sells the manufactured article; but in this country where we should work up our own raw material, which we cannot easily dispose of in any other way the effect would be still more striking. We have

already made sufficient progress in this country not only to develop the capacity of our labor, but to illustrate its conduciveness to individual and national wealth. The able report of the committee of commerce and manufactures of 1816, states, that at that time, 100,000 persons were employed in the cotton establishments alone, in the United States, and that of these, 10,000 were males over 17 years; 66,000 women and female children, and 24,000 boys under 17 years of age. They employed a capital of \$40,000,000. They used 27,000,000 pounds of cotton, which at 30 cents amounted to \$8,000,000, and they produced 81,000,000 yards, which at 30 cents would amount to \$24,000,000, and yield a net gain to the country of sixteen million, two hundred thousand dollars. It ought to be remembered that of this sum, at least fifteen millions of dollars went into the pockets of these 100,000 poor people employed in the establishments—and blessed them with competence and an honest independence; it thus passed into general circulation, and filled up the veins throughout the body of the nation. What, give me leave to ask, would have been the condition of these 100,000 people had they not been so employed? It is too plain that they would have been in idleness and want, rather the objects of public charity, than the active contributors to public wealth; while at the same time, the sixteen million two hundred thousand dollars would have passed out of the country and gone into the pocket of the foreign laborer and capitalist. Let us extend the calculation to our actual capacity; and contrast it with the effects of a foreign supply.

Our exports of cotton in one year, have been estimated at 90,000,000 pounds, which at 16 cents would be worth \$13,400,000; our labor is capable of manufacturing this at home; but if we procure our supply from a foreign country, we should take 270,000,000 yards, which at 16 cents would amount to forty three millions of dollars, and we should pay to the foreign laborer twenty nine million, six hundred thousand dollars, which we might have paid to our own.

The same report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, states that in the year 1816, there was invested in the establishments for the manufacture of wool including buildings and machinery, a capital of twelve millions of dollars: and estimated the raw material consumed at \$7,000,000, and the increase value of manufacturing at \$12,000,000. By these establishments therefore, even upon this contracted scale we made at home \$19,000,000 worth of woolen goods, which if we had brought from Europe would have cost \$12,000,000 the value of manufacturing. Nor was the profit of these operations confined to the manufacturing labor immediately employed; the capital which erected the establishments and constructed the machinery enriched the Mechanic, and that which purchased the raw material, went into the hands of the agriculturist, which is an additional illustration of the universal diffusion of these benefits throughout all classes of the community.

Nothing can be plainer sir, than, that by this operation of labouring at home we add a clear gain to the national stock; and the force of the argument is not weakened by the remark which has been made, that it puts nothing more into the pocket of the cotton grower, than if the articles had been procured from abroad. It takes nothing from him; but while it gives greater scope and certainty to his market, it rewards the labor of other parts of the country which otherwise would be impoverished.

And can it be denied, that every addition to the general stock redounds to the common benefit? Sir, the wealth thus accumulated by the individuals of whose immediate exertions it is the reward, does not lie idle in their hands: it goes directly into the general circulation. It becomes the interest of every class to render the earnings of their labor immediately and extensively profitable,—they are laid out in procuring an encrased supply of articles for consumption—in the purchase and improvement of land—in the erection of buildings both of taste and utility,—in projecting roads and canals, and in all those liberal objects of public improvement, which accompany the possession of ease and riches. These again open and promote new sources of labor and expenditure. The agriculturalists feels the impulse in the increased value of his land and estate,—and together with the Merchant and all others in the abundance of capital, and facility of intercourse, the laborer and Mechanic find full employment and liberal prices; specie abounds in all parts of the country, and ease and plenty crown the exertions of every branch of industry. This state of things has ever been the result of a flourishing state of manufacturing labor in all countries and times in which it has been cherished. I can assure gentlemen that I have witnessed the practical illustration of this system upon that part of the country in which I reside, when the stimulus of the late war had given life and activity to its industry, and put the establishments upon the Banks of the Brandywine in full operation. And, Sir, if I did not feel too keenly for those of my fellow citizens who have felt its effects, and for the condition of a country for many reasons, dear to me, I could delineate the melancholy reverse which now enfeebls the hand of labor, and paralyzes every species of enterprise.

Nor, Mr. Speaker is the policy proposed by the Tariff liable to the objection which has been urged of increasing the price of the articles, and thus operating as a tax upon the consumer, for the encouragement of a few manufacturers. The manufacturers do not ask you to enable them to sell higher, but to sell at all; they do not wish you to raise the price of their articles, but to enable them to sell in our own markets, now monopolized by foreign bounty. The profits of the manufacturer depend no less upon the quantity sold, than the price obtained for it, and give the American Manufacturer his own market and he desires no increase of his price. Nor could he calculate upon such an increase, when the effect of the policy would be ultimately, to reduce the price in a considerable degree. The price of any article whether of foreign or domestic product, must in the nature of things, be regulated by the proportion of the supply to the demand. If the supply be abundant, the price will be low, and high if it will be scarce.

The foreigner will always get for his article the highest price he can, the home manufacturer will do no more. It is this proportion, which keeps down the price, where the supply is a foreign one, and why will it not produce the same effect, where it is domestic? If we possess the capacity to supply the demand, as I have shewn we do, the same principle will operate, and the competition at home will produce the same effect as that among foreigners, but it will produce even a greater one. Our opponents are obliged to admit, as especially the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Barbour, who has ingeniously attempted to render it subservient to his argument, that our use of improved machinery places us upon an equality with foreign

nations on the score of labor, and that in all other respects, we have the advantage; If then the foreign monopoly were done away, we could bring the article into the market cheaper, because we save the expence of distant transportation. We place the manufacturer and consumer by the side of each other, by which means the articles are brought into market unattended by the costs of transportation, freight, insurance and the profits of the merchant. But if I were to concede for the sake of argument merely, that the price would be higher for a short time, it would be but temporary, and the increase of the price immediately tempting the further employment of labor, the supply would at once become proportionably greater. This temporary enhancement of price would not only be compensated by an ultimate reduction, but by an immediate addition to the national wealth as I have already shewn. These are the considerations which render the apprehensions on the score of high price, worthless in the eye of the statesman, who looks to the lasting and substantial interests of his country, who lays the foundation of her glory and independence upon a firm and lasting basis, and compares the inconvenience of a temporary privation with the strength and durability of her future progress. I am willing to submit to this temporary enhancement of price if it is to be so, and I am willing to compel my constituents to do so.

But it is said, and with a seriousness, which would indicate it as the chief source of apprehension with our opponents, that this employment of our labor will be prejudicial to our agriculture and commerce! From the considerations I have already endeavored to present in the course of argument I have adopted, these objections would appear to me to be groundless, and in a great degree answered. But there are too many sound reflections establishing a mutuality of interest in the three branches of industry, to be slightly passed by.

I have already adverted to the condition of our commercial enterprise. We have already seen how very much it has been circumscribed, and that without the recurrence of events which we cannot reasonably anticipate, it can never expand to its former dimensions. In contracting our wants of foreign labor therefore, in the extent to which I have limited my views, and in cherishing of our own manufacture of articles of the first necessity, we do not abridge the commercial enterprise; we simply employ the labor which it cannot do, without injury to the nation, and we leave it an ample range for all its means in that portion of the foreign trade with which we cannot now, and perhaps never can dispense. Sir, this abridgement in the commercial trade will take place without the Tariff.—We cannot long endure the destructive balance of trade we have already seen accumulating. We shall be driven to contract our wants by lessening our consumption; our inability to pay for them will oblige us to curtail our foreign importations, whether we pass this Tariff or not.

But if we labor at home, as we increase our means, we shall increase our ability to use those articles of luxury, for which we rely upon the foreign trade, and thus continually enlarge the sphere of commercial capital; and give a new spring to its activity.

The commercial labor and capital will also find additional employment in an enlarged coasting trade, to which an improved home market would give rise, and we cannot be unmindful that in our

future progress, it may become our privilege to sell to others the articles which we are now compelled to buy from them. The day is not distant when the South American markets will open to us a vent for all our surplus, in which, with the fostering aid of our government, we may sustain a rivalry with every other nation. In such an event our commercial activity would have the most ample scope.

But Mr. Speaker the interest of the Agriculturist in the success of the manufacturing labor, appears to me so manifest, that I cannot suppress my surprise that ingenuity itself has been able to frame an objection upon this part of the subject. The benefits conferred upon the agricultural interest have served more than any thing else, to fix my conviction in favor of this tariff.

I have already adverted to the present depressed and embarrassed state of our agriculture, and have endeavored to shew the general spirit of energy and exertion, which the accumulation of wealth by the employment of the home labor, must produce, and the manner in which its first spring would be felt by the agricultural interest. As the agricultural labor is at the end of the foundation of every other, it is the first to share in their prosperity; the success of manufactures cannot subdue it from the labor employed in agriculture, as has been argued, and must therefore only impart new vigor to its energies. The national encouragement confined to the objects which I have specified, would do no more than employ that portion of labor which the weakness of the demand renders useless in agricultural pursuits, and the manufactures alluded to, would be conducted principally by new labor, or labor that could not be otherwise employed, but would be idle and unproductive. We have seen that labor in manufacturing establishments consists for the most part in machinery and women and children and in addition to the remarks of the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia. Mr. Barbour, demonstrating the wonderful effect of machinery it may be observed that the use of it is a clear addition to the national labor, requiring no expence to support it. The use of the powerful auxiliary, breaks up all the foundations upon which the old objection rests, that in new countries, and a thin population manufactures are injurious. The employment of women and children open to the farmer a new source of profit, by offering new occupations to his family and contributing to their subsistence. I do not admit the dangerous influence of such occupation upon the morals of the children. There is no sound theory which authorizes us to infer that constant employment, rather than idleness and poverty injures the moral character, and my own observation directly contradicts the objection, I do not believe there is any district of country in which there is less vice and criminality than in the manufacturing establishments in the vicinity of my residence, and particularly those located upon the Brandywine. In these establishments there are hundreds of poor children employed, and I am sure that the utmost attention is paid to their moral habits and a system of schools and education have been founded through the liberality of their employers, which yield them a fund of instruction which they could never hope to acquire, from the poverty of their parents.

But even if a few hands should be taken from the agricultural pursuits, no injury could result from it. We already raise more than we can send abroad, and the effect would only be to improve the soil, and raise more from fewer acres and with

less labor, and of consequence, with greater profit: a system of cultivation which I believe it is the interest of every agriculturist to pursue. We cultivate too much poor land, and waste our labor upon an impoverished soil.

The great interest however which the Agriculturists has in the success of Manufactories, is the *home market*, which they afford for his surplus products: a consideration in which is involved every motive which is calculated to invigorate agricultural labor, and secure the National independence. The *home market* is both of greater scope, and of much more certainly than the foreign market—it increases with the growth of the country, and enlarges with the sphere of our wants. If we drew our supplies from our own manufacturing labor, the demand for the raw material, and the agricultural product, would preserve the proper proportion, and ensure their consumption without a dependence upon foreign demand. The state of a foreign market depends upon the wants and policy of foreign interests, never favorable to ours, and often conflicting with them. It is completely at the mercy not only of the disputes of foreign nations with us, but also of their particular relations among themselves which we cannot either avert or control. If our market is abroad, the arrival of every ship, will produce a fluctuation, and either reduce our prices, or raise them to be again suddenly depressed, baffling the most prudent calculations of the farmer. If it is at *home* the varying course of foreign policy cannot effect it, things flow on, in an even channel, and the labors of the agriculturist and Manufacturer mutually cheer each other, and impart new vigor to the home labor.

I do not attach any weight to the argument which urges the *inadequacy of the home market*. If the branches of Manufactures to which I have principally adverted, were in full operation, their labor would rely entirely for their supply upon the Agricultural class, instead of raising for themselves as they are now compelled to do, from necessity; and they would certainly consume and require as much as the foreign labor. The consideration applies with peculiar force to the United States, where the Agricultural labor, from the great diversity of soil and climate, find the best profit in the production of articles peculiarly adapted to the Manufacturing demand. The demand of the agriculturist for the products of the Woolen, Cotton, Iron and Glass Manufacturer, of the maker of paper and leather—of the hatters, fullers and dyers, and the numerous other trades connected with these, is extensive and constant, and it is impossible to suppose that all these when in full operation will not furnish a complete market for the agricultural produce which will of necessity be adapted to the demand, by which means a market would be afforded for many of the agricultural products to a much greater extent than could be otherwise expected, such as the ores of Iron and Glass, coal, fuel of all kinds, vegetables, dye stuffs, and grain itself, where it is used in some branches of manufacture for other than the purpose of food. There would also be an increased and increasing demand by multiplying the number of consumers by emigration from foreign countries, and by increasing the capacity to consume. Men live in proportion to their means, abundance flows in the train of riches, and the consumption is always in proportion to the wealth of the consumers.

But the *home market* will also be more permanent, since it will always depend upon our own wants and condition. Foreign nations possess both the disposition and ability to depress our agricultural labor, and though gentlemen now effect to attach more importance to the apprehension of their capacity to undersell us in our own market; they should not overlook a danger much more eminent and equally fatal,—their capacity to dispense with our productions, in their market. When such an event, to which the whole scope of foreign policy is tending, shall happen, the importance of the *home market* will be taught by a necessity which a wise foresight should now provide against.

I have already adverted to the redundant population which the present state of Europe will necessarily employ in agricultural pursuits, which are presented in the wide scope of territory which each of those powers possess. England herself, has much land which she may yet reduce to cultivation, so that every year they will diminish their wants of our supply. I entreat gentlemen from the South, to consider the argument in regard to the single article of cotton, as illustrating its full force. Foreign nations are annually taking less of this article from the United States and using every means in their power to dispense with our supply altogether. Even England, from whom we must procure our fabrics unless we determine to work for ourselves, is annually increasing her supply from India and Brazil, and lessening it from us; and it will be observed by a reference to Seybert's Statistics, that while her importations from the United States are nearly stationary, those from India and Brazil are quadrupled, and yet we hesitate to provide a market at home, and counteract a foreign policy which rears its industry upon the ruins of our prosperity! Foreigners rival us in the raw material of *Cotton, Wool, Iron, Glass, and Paper*, they render ours useless at home by refusing to receive them from us, and yet compel us to pay them for working up their own, for our use!

The *home market* would reconcile the interests of every section of the Union, and convert the only diversities which ought ever to exist in this country, those of soil and climate into common blessings, and sources of national prosperity. By it, the three great branches of industry would equally redound to the general good, they would be united by the same bond and labor for the same purpose, their profits would flow in a common channel, and fructify a common country.

Suppose it should be conceded, as has been contended, that the manufacturing establishment would be principally located in the Eastern and middle and some of the Western states; their dependence upon the South for the supply of the raw material, would necessarily produce a common interest throughout the whole. The *Cotton, Wool, Indigo, Hemp, Rice and Sugar* of the South and West, would be exchanged for the manufactured productions of the other parts of the Union, and thus produce a course of trade equally beneficial to all parts of the community, and not less profitable than any foreign commerce, upon which we can calculate. If I had not already consumed more than my share of the time of the house, I could easily shew the superior advantages of the employment of capital in the *home trade* to the extent now contemplated, referring to both England and France for an illustration; it will be

sufficient however, merely to glance at the course of such a trade in the United States. The merchant at Charleston for example, would lay out a capital of \$20,000, in produce purchased of the Western farmer, which he would sell to the planters of the South, for Cotton worth \$24,000; this he would ship to the Eastern or middle states and exchange it for \$28,000, worth of manufactured articles, with which the demands of the South would be supplied. It must be perceived at once that in every step of this progress, the *home labor* is stimulated—the industry of our own citizens in the *North South and West* is equally, benefited, to the full amount of the capital employed, which is kept rapidly and constantly circulating. But, if the merchant of Charleston, should exchange his Western produce, or Southern Cotton in Europe, for foreign goods, the labor of this country would be benefited only to the extent of his profits and his capital would be employed as much for the benefit of foreigners, as that of our citizens: of which we are every day feeling the evil effects. We are sensible of the evils, and we cannot mistake the remedy. We possess a country highly favored by Providence, filled with resources ample for all our wants. It is for us to adopt a system of policy which shall draw them forth, and make them active, and which shall protect the home labour against foreign competition, and which shall provide the *home market* accessible by good roads and canals.

I owe the house an apology for having consumed so much time, and will only repeat my hope that the motion may not prevail.

THE CHRISTENING.

A hundred names were soon proposed,
But every one the Wife opposed,
No tongue could e'er run faster;
"Well, *Peter*, then?" the Husband cried:
"What! *Peter*?" the good Dame replied;
"No! he denied his *Master*!"

"Through all the list" said he "I've run,
And know not, then, what's to be done
To close this sad distress:
"Suppose, my dear, he's *Joseph* called?"
"No, never, no!" she loudly bawled,
"For he denied his *Mistress*!"

TRANSPOSING OF LETTERS.

Potentates	Ten tea pots
Amendment	Ten mad men
Gallantries	All great sin
Encyclopedia	A nice cold pye
Breakfast	Fat Bakers
Telegraphs	Great helps
Astronomers	Moon starrs
Astronomers	No more stars
Lawyers	<i>Sly ware</i>
Penitentiary	Nay I repent it
Democratical	Comical trade
Revolution	To love ruin
Sovereignty	'Tis ye governor
Punishment	Nine Thumps
Old England	Golden land
Orator Henry Hunt	No one thruth, Harry
John Gale Jones	See John in Goal
William Cobbett	I'll be at its, mob. W. C.
Radical Reform	Rare mad frolic
Universal suffrage	Gues a fearful ruin
Annual Parliament	I am an unreal plant.

in exchange for the labor of produce for our own. The first was called the home industry, and the phrase had no small influence in the discussion. In purchasing commodities imported from abroad we were supposed to encourage principally the industry of a foreign state. Plausible as this view might appear, he thought that even a slight examination of the subject would shew that manufactures and commerce might be equally productive, and might equally encourage "home industry."

Between the results of commercial and manufacturing industry the difference is not as great as has been represented. In manufactures a material of inferior value receives a change in its form which adds greatly to its utility. The fabrication which is completed in our country affords a profit which is equal to the difference in value between the raw material and the manufactured article after deducting the expence of manufacture. In commerce a material of inferior value is carried abroad and converted into an article (or exchanged for one) which to us is much more valuable. The conversion affords us, as in the first case, a profit which is equal to the difference in value between the original article and the exchanged product, after deducting the exchange. If a thousand people in a corner of our country make among them all the provisions which they consume, and, in addition to these, furnish, by their industry, one hundred thousand dollars worth of broad cloth—it does not appear that they add more to the wealth of the state than the same number of people would do, distributed among the employments of merchants, sailors, and farmers—who, after supporting themselves, should exchange the surplus productions of a part of them (enhanced in value by the industry of the other part which transports and exchanges them) for the same amount of one hundred thousand dollars in broadcloth—the same value of the same article. If by high duties or by positive laws, we could force these merchants and seamen to stay at home, and their capital and industry should produce as before the \$100,000 worth of broad cloth, the article, although fabricated in the country, would not more be the result of American industry (for the purpose of this argument) than if it had been obtained by the other process of maritime adventure. It is quite natural to consider a foreign manufacture as entirely the product, and its purchase as the encouragement of foreign industry. But how did we get it? Whatever may be the amount of foreign fabrics which are spread over our country, if it be the industry of Europe which produces, it is the industry of America which acquires them.

The industry employed in commerce, then is American industry, and the acquisition even of foreign fabrics is the result of American industry and its encouragement. He should have an opportunity of illustrating this view when he came to a treat of a branch of trade which the bill before the house prescribed—he meant the East India trade. He could, for the present, observe only that the importation of foreign fabrics acquired by American industry, if they were furnished at a lower price than our manufacturers could afford to sell at, produced the same loss and the same benefit as the introduction of any new machinery, or of any simpler process which should lessen the expence of fabrication. In employing the saw-mill or the spinning jenny, we acted upon the same principle of getting what we wanted as cheap as we could, and we produced the same distress in throwing out of employment the persons whose ruder industry could not stand

this new competition. There was one admission, however, which he frankly made—the effect upon home industry was the same of improved machinery of foreign trade—but the trade which benefitted ourselves benefitted also the country whose wants we supplied or whose products we consumed. Let this objection have whatever weight it was entitled to. Its principle was not so much anti-commercial as anti-social.

In encouraging, then, the manufactures of the country by duties upon importation, his friend from Delaware would do the very thing which he meant to avoid—he would promote one branch of American industry at the expence of another. But, whether this conduct of individual industry was right, he meant to leave to the arguments of his friends from Virginia. It had been said that the plan of encouraging particular branches of industry had been applied to commerce as well as manufactures. This was no decisive recommendation of it. If the nation had been taxed to encourage commerce, it was a poor indemnity (it was not exactly a compensation of errors) that it should be taxed for the support of manufactures. There was too, some little difference between the two cases. Taxes for the support of government were laid upon commerce—these were paid by the consumers of foreign merchandize, and whatever the expences on account of commerce may have been, they were expences which commerce herself was made to pay. The merchant, or the purchaser of foreign articles, received, if you please, some relief from the credit which was allowed upon the payment of duties, but he certainly received nothing from contributions which were paid by any other class in the community.

Exclusive advantages, indeed, had been given to the navigating interest. The principal instance of it was the monopoly of the coasting trade. This was connected with considerations of defence, not of profit; to support, not our merchants, but our navy. But what was the extent of the bounty? In the direct trade with the first navigating country in the world (England) our ships obtained, without any discrimination in the duties, the larger part of the navigation. Could the ships of foreign nations, unable successfully to compete with ours in foreign trade, have carried on the coasting trade on lower terms than our own? No other interest has contributed a bounty to commerce, and the discrimination in favor of American navigation in the only instances in which it could be expected to operate, (if it ever operated at all,) was a discrimination of ten per cent.

The encouragement of manufactures in the mode proposed, whether the thing were right or wrong, must produce two effects—the one that of withdrawing labor and capital from commerce or agriculture, and thus enlarging the whole amount employed in manufactures—the other, that of affecting the distribution of labor and capital among the different branches of manufactures themselves. He would say nothing of the first effect, but the second must be allowed to be one of unmixed injury. Admit that it is our interest to manufacture articles which we could procure at cheaper rates from abroad, it must be still more our interest to manufacture such as prove themselves adopted to our circumstance by being able to bear foreign competition. Our capital and labor are limited, and in directing the largest amount of these into branches which require most encouragement, we greatly divert them from those into which they would

flow with most advantage. Thus, every branch of industry which is entirely safe from foreign competition, and in respect to which protecting duties may be considered as nominal, must be injured by the encouragement of those which draw from them their resources of capital and labor. We have many branches of industry among those which may be expected to be first established in every country, which seem not to be more prosperous now than they were thirty years ago, nor are the articles which they furnish by any means at as low a price. What are called the mechanic arts are generally in this class. Why is this so? Because government, in fact, bids against them—because the operation of this system of duties must be relative, and in encouraging one branch of industry we necessarily discourage another. Look at the iron manufactory as a proof of this. It is said to want yet further encouragement, recently as the duties have been raised, and, it is true, (he had the proof of it upon his table,) that the profits of the iron-master were greater before the revolution than they had been for some past years; greater when our capital and population were small, and foreign competition unrestricted, than when all these circumstances were changed in our favor. To all that industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing, which is safe from foreign competition, the system of "encouraging domestic industry," can give no advantage, but it must share in the burden without participating in the profits. We exported the last year, he believed, manufactured goods nearly to the amount of three millions. The establishments which furnished these could not gain by duties upon importation; that their expenses would be increased, though their profits could not. Mr. L. enlarged for some time upon this subject, and attempted to shew that the system of laying a high duty upon every process of manufacture must frequently produce this effect, that, to encourage a manufacture which employs but a small number of hands, and is comparatively unimportant, we may raise so high the price of an article which supports the industry and subserves the comfort of a large class of the community, as to produce general inconvenience. He appealed not to theory but fact. We were anxious in 1816 to encourage the rolling of copper. We did so, and laid a duty upon copper in sheets. Two establishments have been maintained, which are said to employ 54 workmen, and it is computed that 4000 industrious men, the braziers who work up this copper, (whose industry even began to furnish articles for exportation,) have suffered heavy and general injury, which has extended to all their customers—to a large portion of the community.

The view on which peculiar reliance appeared to be placed for the defence of this bill was that which was connected with the alleged failure of our policy hitherto in respect both to the industry and revenue of the country. He had heard these arguments with surprise. He should hereafter make some observations upon a comparison between our import duties and those of the nations of Europe. But, was it enough to condemn our policy that it was not European? It is yet more true of internal taxes than of imposts that the nations of Europe are very far in advance of us. Their establishments of other kinds differ more than their tariffs from those of the United States. We had ventured, however rash it might be thought, "to adopt principles which had not been tested" by their experience. And, had we suffer-

ed for our temerity? Had our experiment really failed? What nation in Europe had advanced more rapidly to prosperity and wealth by the most successful wars, than had the United States without a conquest, by the mere development and natural growth of their resources? Let their policy be changed if it must be so, but let them not be ungrateful to the wisdom which had directed, to the Providence which had favored them. The nominal value of property might change; the currency might rise or depreciate; but a population quadrupled in less than 50 years, and a production increased in a yet larger proportion, furnished no evidence to condemn the scheme under which such prosperity had resulted. Independently of the protection of property, which our laws afforded, the principal cause of a growth so extraordinary must be found in the high rewards of labor. In new countries, where land is not yet fully appropriated, labor always obtains a high price in the raw produce of the earth, and generally but a small one in manufactured articles. It has been the happy peculiarity of our situation and of our policy that the laborer has obtained as large an amount at any where else of the necessaries which agriculture furnishes, and a much larger one of the comforts which manufactures provide. The statesman may mar his condition but cannot mend it. He cannot raise his wages estimated in the produce of the earth, and by a large foreign impost he must lower his wages if you estimate them in the manufactures which he must consume.

But, our scheme of revenue has failed. The House would have hereafter a better opportunity of examining this subject than they now have. He would not represent the state of the revenue as prosperous—but perhaps it was a proof that the prosperity of a few years had rendered our expectations unreasonable, that we looked almost with dismay upon the finances of a year, in which, if we deduct what we propose to borrow, from what we pay of public debt, there will still be an amount of debt extinguished, of upwards of two millions and a half, (about half of which will be Mississippi stock.) After paying every current expence, and applying large sums in increasing the navy and fortifications of the country, we should owe less by upwards of two millions and a half, on the 1st January, 1821, than we did on the 1st of last January.*—He did not think, that the prospects of succeeding years, (looking to the average of several years) were as bad as they had been represented, unless they were made so by this bill. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania proposed to open new sources of revenue, his scheme would deserve the examination of the House. But, if Mr. L. understood his plan, it was founded on a motion which was erroneous in its principle, and must be oppressive in its application.

The revenue which the impost furnishes, is paid by the consumer, and not by the merchant. It is paid in the enhanced price of the article which he buys. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, seems to think, that if, by excluding this article, he is forced to consume only the domestic fabric, the government, which has not received its accustomed duty upon the importation of foreign, may collect the same amount by an excise upon domestic arti-

* This statement was founded upon the supposition, that one million and a half would be borrowed. If the loan, as appears now to be probable, should be of three millions, the actual reduction of debt in the year 1820, will be only one million.

cles. "the money has not been carried out of the country."—If indeed, by ceasing to import the foreign fabric, the domestic article is furnished to the consumer at a lower price he may pay a tax upon it—but the tax which was paid in the price of the article is not reduced by its exclusion; it is indeed, so far as the former is concerned, increased—he pays more for the articles which he buys; his expenses are greater; his clear revenue less. Is there any legerdemain by which, under these circumstances, his ability to pay taxes can be increased? You tell him that he paid before a certain tax to the government, and that he does not pay it now; he answers you, that he pays a higher tax, because he pays a higher price now than he did formerly, and that it is not his fault that this tax goes into the pocket of the manufacturer, and not into the public treasury. If, in addition to the exclusion of the foreign article, you lay an excise upon the domestic product, it is evident that the country must pay a double tax, although the government will not receive it. It is hardly possible, however, to reason upon this subject. The ability to pay taxes must be diminished by every thing which adds to the expenses (as the exclusion of foreign goods must do) of those who are to pay them.

(To be continued.)

DOCUMENTS.

Accompanying the Message of the President transmitted to both Houses of Congress, on the 12th ultimo.

(CONTINUED.)

General Vives to the Secretary of State.

(TRANSLATION.)

Sir: In answer to your note of yesterday's date, I have, in the first place, to give you the explanation requested of me, of the import of my last proposal, and in doing so, to repeat, in other words, that I am authorised solemnly to promise to this government the ratification of the treaty by His Majesty, on y in case the third point of my proposals be satisfied; but, as the answer given to this point has not been such as I could, agreeably to my instructions, receive as satisfactory, I can by no means commit myself, by giving a greater extension to my promise than that expressed in my note.

My object in intimating to you, that although I knew nothing officially, yet I considered as authentic the information circulating of an important change in the government of Spain, a circumstance which would of itself effectually prevent me from giving greater latitude to my promise, was to apprise our government, that, as by the adoption of the constitution of 1812, in Spain, the powers of the King would be limited, it would no longer depend on His Majesty alone to fulfil my solemn promise, admitting that my instructions had empowered me to give such a promise; so that my sole motive for offering a remark upon that topic was, to strengthen the grounds on which my proposal was founded; and, further, to enable your government so to appreciate, as no longer to decline assenting to it.

I shall, on this occasion, waive all reply to the arguments again advanced by you, in extenso, upon the question of his Majesty's obligation to ratify the treaty, and confine myself to a single remark; namely, that all the authorities cited by you lay down the peace and happiness of mankind in general, and of states and their respective people in particular, as a fundamental principle. And

having, in my first note, shown the notorious hostile disposition prevailing throughout the Union towards the interests of the Spanish monarchy, it necessarily follows, that, when the objects of treaties are not obtained, the ratification of that of 22d February, 1819, would, in like manner, become illusory; and; therefore, that his Majesty's motives for suspending it, were founded upon a competent view of evident facts.

He would leave it to the world to decide whether the reasoning you rely on, in stating the motives of the American government for proposing to the other powers to acknowledge the revolted colonies of Spanish America, and in exhibiting them as favorable, not only to suffering humanity, but to the interests of Spain herself, be not in the highest degree specious, for if such maxims were to be adopted, nations could no longer count upon the integrity of their possessions, or upon the maintenance of that mutual amity and good understanding, which it is equally their duty and their interest to cultivate in their relations with each other.

I have the honor to offer you anew the assurances of my distinguished consideration; and I pray God long to preserve you.

FRANCISCO DIONISIO VIVES.

Washington, 9th May, 1820.

[Here follows the proclamation published in the Register of the 13th ult.]

General Don Francisco Dionisio Vives to the Secretary of State.

(TRANSLATION.)

Sir: Among the documents transmitted with the President's Message to both Houses of Congress, and published in this day's National Intelligencer, I have seen, with surprise, the letter of Mr. Gallatin, stating, that I positively told him that "I could, in case of an arrangement, give satisfactory security to the United States, and that it would consist in consenting that they should take immediate possession of Florida, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty." Although I have with all frankness proved, in my correspondence with you, that I had no such authority, and that it will not, under any view which may be taken, appear presumable, that I made so doubtful, so useless, and inconsiderate a disclosure, I request, however, that you will be pleased to communicate this to the President, in order that, by giving publicity to this document, it may be understood that I made no such proposal, either to Mr. Gallatin or to Baron Pasquier.

I renew to you, sir, the assurances of my respect and distinguished consideration; and I pray God to preserve you many years.

FRANCISCO DIONISIO VIVES.

Washington, 11th May, 1820.

DIED—in March last, in the Parish of Aigish, Killybeg, at the age of 115: THEODORE O'SULLIVAN, the celebrated Irish bard. He was a great composer in his native language. He expired, suddenly, on Wednesday, while sowing oats in the field of one of his grand children! and he actually breathed his last while singing the final stanza of his National Melody. He was a cooper, and actually made a urn, from which bitter was taken for the christening of his twenty-sixth great grand child!

SOUTH AMERICA.

To the Editor of the London Globe.

Don Luis Lopez Mendez, Plenipotentiary, Envoy from the Government of Venezuela and New Grenada (now called the Republic of Columbia,) has the honor to address the British Press, and in the name of so just, so glorious, and important a cause as that of the independence of South America, as well as for the interest the British public may feel in the knowledge of the real sentiments of the government and people he represents, he requests him to have the goodness to give insertion in his very valuable and impartial paper, to the following statement.

An article has appeared in several London papers of Friday last, the 31st ult. extracted from the French Journals of 27th, referring to another from Madrid of the 16th of the same month, the tenor of which is as follows:—"We are assured that the Provincial Junta is about to send commissioners to different parts of South America with proper instructions for restoring peace to those countries. Hopes are entertained that the new republics are not indisposed to unite under the Constitutional Monarchy. The American Delegates in London have often declared it. Bolivar alone could oppose it. But the head of the Buenos Ayrean Republic will probably consent."

A falsehood though ever so improbable, may, nevertheless, from a combination of circumstances, find credit with some few individuals unacquainted with the merits of the subject in question. This consideration, and the circumstance of being myself one of the Delegates, induced me to trespass on the public with this explanation, in order that no person may be misled by the delusive fictions of the mortal enemies of my country.

Every person in the least acquainted with history, with politics, or with human nature, must be fully convinced of the improbability, nay, utter impossibility of the South American Independent Governments ever again submitting to the Yoke of Spain.

The separation from Spain of the South American provinces, was long since regarded by men of foresight as an event that in the course of time alone must have inevitably happened, in spite of every precaution to prevent it. There was nothing more natural than to suppose that when these vast and fertile regions should have increased their population, their knowledge, and their resources, they would then throw off the yoke of Spanish dominion, and assume their rank among independent States. Were all the rest of Europe removed to the distance of 6000 miles from Spain, would it be natural for it to be kept in colonial subjection to its power?

From the first discovery of America until the present time, Spain has had but one object in view: to derive the greatest possible advantage from those countries without the least caring for their prosperity. The immense internal riches of South America have been transported abroad to gratify the idle debauchery of a Court, to be squandered away in wars and extravagancies. Their advancement further than this object was answered, was repressed with jealousy. They were, in fact, regarded as mere appendages, very useful and convenient indeed, but placed without the pale of humanity and justice. Manufactories were where forbidden; as well as the growth of the vine, the mulberry and the olive. Of hemp and flax, no

commerce was permitted but with Spain and for her benefit: No intercourse was allowed between the different sections of South America. The establishment of academies was strictly prohibited as was likewise the study of mathematics and navigation. The introduction of foreign books was rigorously interdicted and all offices of consideration were filled by Spaniards, even the special permission from the King was necessary to any native of South America, wishing to come over to Spain. These are the reasons why countries which have been settled for so many hundred years are still so thinly populated in proportion to their extent: the population of South America, however, even now is double that of the ancient states and at the same time the natives of those countries are at least no ways inferior to the Spaniards in spirit and intelligence. It would be unnecessary waste of time to stop to prove so clear and simple a proposition, as that the government of South America can never be so imbecile as to enter into any negotiation with Spain, which shall not establish as a first and indispensable preliminary, the clear and positive acknowledgment of their independence. It would be madness to suppose that any other terms will ever be listened to. What has Spain to offer them as an equivalent for placing their necks again under its yoke? A reformation of abuses? They are reformed. Representative Governments? They have them, the best adapted to the character, customs, and manners of the country. Freedom of Trade!—of this they are in full possession. They have obtained their independence by the price of their blood—after a ten year's struggle they firmly established it.

The pride, the obstinacy of Spain, may not yet be satisfied; but the world must be convinced that a people who in the first instance, have been able so to defend themselves for ten years, and triumph, will undoubtedly triumph and defend themselves forever. It is not easy to persuade those who have become free and independent, to re-place themselves in slavery for merely slavery's sake. If Spain preserves her liberty, she will naturally acquire prosperity and happiness; but she cannot impart either the one or the other to South America, nothing could ever remedy the want of a centre power, an original fountain of authority of our own. Countries of such extent, thus separated without governments of their own, are like worlds without suns. The enormous distance from the metropolis renders it impossible to have feelings or interest in common with it. Every European war ruins their trade, and submerges the South Americans in an abyss of other evils, which can no longer be tolerated by millions of men who know how to exist by themselves—who know their own wants, their own rights—how to vindicate these, and how to respect those of others.

The discovery of America has produced wonderful effects in the general constitution of the world; but when we compare those effects with what will speedily take place, they seem but as the first dawn of a glorious day. If the Independence of the United States was an event of such magnitude, so universally interesting, how important must the independence of the whole Continent, the whole of the New World appear; millions of souls, occupying 50,000 square leagues of by far the richest portion of this globe, have taken their own minority destinies into their own hands—they have established governments on the best and wisest models—and they are about to give a full develop-

ment to their resources. It is a matter of no political importance to South American Government, whether Spain be governed by an absolute Monarchy, or by the Cortes; because the same council hostile to South America, have governed the actions of both, as will be sufficiently evident from the following observations:—

1st. The Cortes declared war against South America, and carried it on during the whole time they were in power, during which period they sent against us about 13,000 troops, according to the detailed Report laid before the Cortes by the Minister O'Donoghue.

2d. The Cortes obstinately refused even to listen to the proposals of the Deputies from South America.

3d. The Cortes constantly refused the freedom of trade to South America.

4th. They twice refused the mediation proposed by the English Government, who appointed three English Commissioners for that purpose, one of them Commodore, now Admiral Cockburn.

5th. They did not consent to prohibit the slave trade.

6th. The Cortes approved and supported the oppressive and cruel measures of Abascal, Peru, and Benegu, in Mexico, in utter violation of the Constitution.

7th. The Cortes sanctioned the most scandalous violation of the capitulation entered into by General Miranda and Governor Monteverde, in Venezuela, and all the cruelties practised by this Spanish Chief in those provinces. The above General Miranda, and many other Patriots were sent by Monteverde to Spain, and the Cortes, without granting them any trial, put the one in the dungeons of the Caraca, in Cadiz, where he died in 1816; four of the others were plunged by order of the Cortes, into the dungeons of Ceuta, whence they escaped, and passed over to Gibraltar, the Governor of which place delivered them up to the Spanish Government; and lastly, by the interference of the English Government to Gibraltar, and from there they happily returned to their own country.

Finally, in the Constitution formed by the Cortes, in order to diminish the number of South American Representatives, it was declared that no native of South America, whose origin could in the most remote degree be traced to Africa, should enjoy the right of citizenship, and should not be enumerated among the number of 70,000 persons for whom a representative might be returned to the Cortes.

London, April 5, 1820.

LUIS LOPEZ MENDEZ.

Among the modes of domestic hostility pursued against the British government, there is none which seems to have excited its fears more strongly than the incredible activity of the press in multiplying and diffusing cheap defamatory pamphlets. It has reached, and in part suppressed the evil, by the late law of Parliament concerning six penny publications; but an immense number of single sheets and and shilling duodecimos continue to be industriously circulated and eagerly read. They abound with all sorts of ribaldry; not unfrequently with blasphemy; and in general with

the most ingenious or violent instigations to insurrection. We have before us the fourteenth edition of one of the most popular and efficacious of this order of publications. It is entitled "The Political House that Jack Built," has been regularly advertised for sale, in the principal newspapers of London, and may ere this, have passed through thirty copious editions. It is embellished with caricature likenesses, remarkably well executed, of the principal members of the government, who are treated of in a manner suitable to its objects of fomenting disaffection. George the IV is admirably hit off in his gewgaw military dress, and to his picture are annexed the following lines, which we give as a specimen of this dreaded political literature.

[*Nat. Gazette.*

Great talents." "Great offices will have

This is THE MAN—all shaven and shorn,
All cover'd with Orders—and all forlorn;
THE DANDY OF SIXTY,
Who bows with a grace,
And has taste in wigs, collars,
Cuirasses and laces,
Who, to tricksters, and fools,
Craves the state and its treasures
And when Britain's in tears,
Sails about at his pleasures
Who spurn'd from his presence
The Friends of his youth,
And now has not one
Who will tell him the truth;
Who took to his councils,
In civil hour,
The Friends to the Reasons
Of lawless Power;
That back a Public Informer,
Who
Would put down the Thing, (the Press)
That, in spite of new Acts,
And attempts to restrain it,
By Soldiers or Tax,
Will poison the Vermin,
That plunder the Wealth,
That jay in the House,
That Jack Built.

The next page to that occupied with his Royal Majesty, is devoted to the people, a group of whom, with the Manchester massacre in perspective, are exhibited upon appearances of extreme misery. They are thus described.

THESE ARE

THE PEOPLE

all tatter'd and torn,
Who curse the day
Wherein they were born,
On account of Taxation
Too great to be borne,
And pray for relief,
From night to morn,
Who, in Vain, Petition
In every form,
Who, peaceably meeting
To ask for Reform,
Were sabred by Yeomanry Cavalry,
Who,
Were thank'd by THE MAN,
All shaven and shorn,
All cover'd with Orders—
and all forlorn;
THE DANDY OF SIXTY,
Who bows with a grace, &c. &c.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER.

No. 22.]

CITY OF WASHINGTON, MAY 27, 1820.

[Vol. IX.

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Contents of this No. of the National Register.

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Speech of Mr. Lowndes, ON THE TARIFF BILL.

*Delivered in the House of Representatives of
the United States, April 24, 1820.*

[CONCLUDED from p. 334.]

Something had been said of the expences of collecting a duty upon domestic goods, and the higher expences of excluding goods seemed to be forgotten.

Some gentlemen admit that the proposition of his friends from Virginia, that individuals would pursue that course of industry which would be most profitable to themselves and the country, would be true if other nations as well as we, would "leave trade to itself." Thier concession was injudicious. If all nations admitted a free trade, the arguments for restriction on our part would be just the same as they are now. What would be the inducements to us to admit this trade? That it furnished us in exchange, for products which to us were worth 100 millions, products which were worth 150—that what we bought, was worth more to us than what we sold; and if those nations could not, buy the 100 millions, if they could not, or would not buy more than 50 or 20 millions, the argument would still be unchanged even in its form. However, reduced might be the amount of the trade, it must still consist in an exchange of what we wanted more. In this view of the question, which appeared to him a very simple one, it was not necessary to remark upon the argument, that our supply of agricultural produce would grow in a much larger proportion than the demand of Europe or its population. It might be better for us that their demand should grow more rapidly, but if it would be to our advantage too, though in a smaller degree, to supply even a less demand. This difference however, in the increase of the agricultural produce which we should export, and the foreign demand for it, might be expected to have been illustrated by experience, as well as developed by theory. What was the fact? All admit that the proportion of our industry employed to produce bread-stuffs for foreign consumption, ought to bear a continually lessening proportion to the general industry of the country. But, is it necessarily that the government should interfere to prevent the inordinate increase in the quantity of provisions which we exported, or can the people manage that matter without our interference? Whoever will take the trouble to examine the account of our exports for 20 years past, will find that, while the products of our industry at home have probably quadrupled, our exportation of provision has not increased at all. It is not then necessary that we should force by legislation the industry of the country into any new direction, in

order to prevent it from glutting the corn market of Europe.

Mr. L. said, that he would return for a moment to the consideration of the question, how far the propriety "of leaving things to themselves," was affected by the opposite system which was pursued by foreign powers. If China should by law admit all our produce, manufactured or agricultural, it is plain enough that we could not advantageously send there any which we do not now send. Indeed he did not know that she prohibited any of our produce, but if she did, the prohibition was nominal, and it was evident that its removal could not change the policy which it was our interest to pursue. But, perhaps China belonged to a sphere of industry too different from ours, for the application of these principles. Would the admission of the products of our industry by the nations of Europe justify, in the estimation of the friends of this bill, the reciprocal admission of theirs? Of what avail would it be to us that England should consent to take our manufactures? An engagement to do so would "keep its promise to the ear, but break it to the sense." Our bread-stuffs she takes now only when wheat is above ten shillings, (when by the bye it is most our interest to sell it.) Suppose her laws permitted its importation when the price was low; would any friend of the bill avow that this policy, which would make the establishment of manufactures here a matter of somewhat more difficulty, would incline him to dispense with protecting duties in favour of our manufactures? He put it to the candor of his friends on the other side to say whether they would consent to a treaty by which the raw produce of America, and the manufactures of England should be exchanged without duty? They would not. Their objections to an intercourse unburthened by duties, would be still stronger than they now are, if Europe in affording a better market for our agriculture, should oppose still stronger difficulties to the establishment of manufactures.

Yet it was true that those who wished to impose heavier duties or prohibitions upon foreign manufactures, alleged that by doing so, the price of agricultural produce would be raised. It was equally true, and more strange, that a great many good people interested in agriculture, had believed the allegation. The error was susceptible of easy refutation. If, indeed, the allegation were just, the manufacturer would gain nothing by the change. If the prices of what he buys and sells rise in the same proportion, he might as well leave every thing as it is. But, the notion that the encouragement of manufactures will give a good price to the productions of agriculture is entirely fallacious. Whatever may be the domestic demand for our grain, the supply will exceed it.

As long as there is good land unoccupied, the price of its produce, if there be no foreign demand, will exceed by very little the value of the labor employed in obtaining it. Such must be the case with a permanent embargo. But when there is an export trade, although the quantity exported may bear a small proportion to that which is consumed in the country, the price of that small proportion must determine that of the whole. He did not say

that this was a reasonable theory, but a notorious fact. It was a plain deduction from these principles, that, in an extensive and thinly peopled country, restrictions upon trade would raise the price of manufactures, but not of grain. In a populous and fully cultivated country they would raise the price of grain, and not of manufactures. The last is the situation of England; the first that of the United States.

But the opinion that the establishment of manufactures would secure a good price for our agricultural produce, had made so many converts, that it would be interesting to enquire into the causes which had produced it. He could not dwell upon the subject. But, when manufactories and banks were established coterminously, (and this association he believed not to be uncommon;) when manufactories were established by the aid of borrowed capital, and profuse expenditure produced a local depreciation, the same effect was produced upon prices as an emission of paper money would have done. Every body was willing to spend; every body began to improve and build, and industry was stimulated to extraordinary activity, as it always is, by a depreciating currency. The remarks which he had made a few moments since, were enough to shew how perfectly illusory all duties upon importation must prove for the protection of our agricultural industry. The price of our agricultural products must be determined by that part of the market which is exported, and must in consequence be absolutely unaffected by duties, or even prohibitions. Gentlemen might, therefore, lay duties, or withdraw them from cotton, wheat, or tobacco, and they would change nothing but the words of their statute books.

If it were ever right that government should impose its duties, with a view to the encouragement of particular branches of industry, Mr. L. said he had always believed that the two most reasonable modes of doing it were these: either to lay a very small and equal duty upon all manufactures, which would leave the relative inducement to engage in each unchanged; or to determine upon a very few branches which the government supposed to be best adapted to the situation of the country, or most necessary to its interest, and leaving others untaxed, (if revenue permitted it,) to direct the capital and labor of the country to these objects, where they might form a sufficient security against an excessive rise of prices. The last was the more vigorous plan; perhaps it was the wiser one. Yet it was best adapted to a condition very different from that of the United States: he meant that of an enlightened government and an ignorant people.

Whatever were the encouragements which should be afforded to manufactures, it had always hitherto been supposed that these were required to be greatest at their first establishment. The reasoning of his friend from Delaware supported this conclusion. Mr. Hamilton had said distinctly that, where any branch of industry continued long to require a bounty, it afforded proof that there were obstacles to its establishment which would make it unwise to persevere in it. Yet our system was not to continue bounties, but to increase them.

A strong argument, in the opinion of many gentlemen, was deduced from the large excess of importations above exports, in order to shew that it was necessary to interfere, and prevent the people from buying more than they could pay for. He had hoped that this subject had been put to

rest by his friends from Virginia. An excessive importation may, indeed, take place for a year, although the price will usually be so much lowered by it that the amount of sales of a large, may not be greater than would have been those of a small importation. This disproportion, however, between the supply and demand, between the sales and the means of payment, continue but a short time. The price of American stocks here and in England; the present rate of exchange; sufficiently prove that our interference is unnecessary in fact. (as it must always be wrong in principle,) to adjust the balance of payments between the two countries.

So much had been said of this balance of importation above exports, that he might be excused for another remark.—Gentlemen knew the corrections, (and among them those required by a consideration of the profits of freights, commission, and trade) which ought to be applied to our custom-house accounts. These corrections would vary the balance very much, but they would leave a result in which he should feel little confidence. There is, indeed, a view very different from that which the friends of the bill have taken. The balance of importations above exports, for a series of years, may not only be considered as the proof of a profitable trade, but the measure of its profit. Our trade with foreign nations is one in which we obtain their produce in return for our produce or our labor, and the more valuable their produce is, the better bargain we have made. We should not, as individuals; think it the evidence of unsuccessful business that we obtain in exchange for an article worth but 1000 dollars, one which was worth 2000. Yet this is exactly the thing which is called by politicians an unfavorable balance of trade. In such a system, if the vessels which carry out your productions, and are owned by your merchants, are sunk in the sea, or carried to a market where their sales pay only their expenses, no returns can be made, the balance becomes very favorable, and the politician is satisfied. If the cargoes reach a market which enables the merchant to bring back large returns, the balance becomes unfavorable.—A permanent balance of importation (in a nation that has no monies) must always be referred to the profits of its business. It was different with the excess of a single year. This, however, when it required correction, would, as his friends observed, always be corrected by the interests of trade without the interposition of the government. Could it be necessary that we should interfere by law to diminish importations, at the moment when we see that an unparalleled reduction is effecting, without our interference? The importation of the last quarter of the year 1819, was not more than two-thirds of that of the corresponding quarter of '18.

Mr. L. said that, in the detached observations which he had offered, he had endeavoured to remove the impression which some of the general arguments of the friends of the bill had made. The propositions which to his mind it appeared necessary that they should establish, they did not prove—they scarcely noticed. Grant that it is right that the government should encourage all the manufactures of the country, that considerable duties should be laid upon the importation of every article which can compete with our own fabrics. This we have done already. He believed that there was now no nation in the world which, in proportion to its income, paid so great a bounty to its manufacturers as the United States. Had it ever been contended,

not merely that manufactures should be encouraged, but that the bounty to be given should not be limited by any determined relation to the necessity of the manufacture, or the fair profits of the manufacturer? This mode of defining the bill was, perhaps, judicious; it was certainly embarrassing to its opponents. You say that it is important to encourage the manufacture of cotton. Be it so. We know that, however it be disguised, this can be done only at the expense of the other classes of society. Is it not proper to enquire what expence is necessary; what would be adequate? The operation of a protecting duty was simple, but he must detain the House for a few moments upon this subject, trite and familiar as it was. Where duties are laid upon the importation of articles of a kind which is not produced within the country, the additional price which is paid by the community is received into the public treasury, with a deduction only for the costs of collection. Where a duty is laid upon the importation of an article which is produced within the country, it will cause the same rise in its price as in its former case; but, of the additional sum which is paid by the community, a part will be received by the government, and a part by the manufacturer or producer of the domestic article. If, for instance, one hundred million of pounds of sugar were consumed annually in the U. States, and three-fourths of this amount were furnished by domestic industry, an additional duty of one cent on the pound would cause the consumers of sugar throughout the country to pay one million of dollars more in the price of the article, than they would otherwise do—would impose upon the people a new tax of one million; but of this sum, less than 250,000 would be received by the government, and 750,000 by the sugar planter.

The difference between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and himself, in respect to the information which a tariff should be founded, was explained by this case. He thought, if Congress determined to encourage the production of sugar by an additional bounty, that it was bound carefully to enquire what sum was necessary for this object. To justify the tax, it was necessary to determine that the nation had such an interest in the establishment of the additional sugar plantations to which the bill was expected to give rise; that it was worth its while to contribute annually 750,000 dollars to their support, and that a contribution of less than 750,000 dollars would not cause their establishment. If the bounty in question were greater than the value of the object justified, in any rational view of public policy, we applied the money of the country injudiciously; but if a less bounty would produce the effect which we desired, we gave it away without object and without excuse. It was in this view that he had asked of the committee of manufactures information to shew what were the duties upon foreign importation which would give to our manufactures a reasonable profit on their capital and labor. Every thing beyond this was not a liberal encouragement of manufactures, but a profuse and capricious donation of the public money. Suppose that the 750,000 dollars which, on the supposition which he had made, were given to the sugar planters, instead of being paid to them by the consumers, were raised by a direct tax, and then paid, as a bounty out of the public treasury. This would form no distinction in the principle of the donation. Mr. Hamilton had said, with perfect correctness, that "as often as a duty upon a foreign article make an addition to its price, it causes an

extra expence to the community for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer. A bounty does no more." The information which he had wished was, whether this bounty was to be given to men whose profits and wages were now less than those of the rest of the community; and what were the profits which it was estimated that this bounty would procure them; in a word, how much public money we should give, and what was the necessity of giving it. The house, in rejecting his resolution, had determined that the enquiry was useless or impracticable. They had refused all evidence as to the proper degree of encouragement, and left the defence of the bill to the same vague considerations which would support a duty of 100 per cent. as well as one of 40. They took, they knew not how much, from the people; they gave, they knew not how much, to the manufacturer.

The chairman of the committee of manufactures had intimated that information such as he had asked had never been given. He might answer, that it ought to have been. But the chairman was mistaken. It had been. Mr. L. read the following sentences from Mr. Dallas's report of 1816, on the revision of the tariff:—"The amount of the duties should be such as will enable the manufacturer to meet the importer in the American market upon equal terms of profit and loss." "There still, however, remains a diversity of opinion as to the amount which will be competent, and the aim of this report will be to strike the medium which appears to be best established from all the information which has been collected." This sentence proved that the rates of duty proposed in the report of 1816, were founded on evidence of the degree of encouragement, which would enable "the manufacturer to meet the importer." That evidence was laid before the house. It contained, substantially, and indeed much more fully than he should require it, all the information in respect to the state of our manufactures in 1816, which it was the object of his resolution to obtain in 1820. He should have occasion to advert to this information hereafter. It proved, at least, that the object of his resolution was practicable, and had hitherto been supposed important and necessary.

The practicability of its object, too, although the Speaker had appeared to doubt it, had been proved by the statements which he had made in respect to two northern manufactures. If the house were determined to give adequate protection to any branch of manufactures, the same kind of information possessed by the Speaker, as to the manufactures of which he had spoken, if extended to 15 or 20 others in different parts of the country, would enable us to know what bounty was necessary and adequate to their support. That bounty ought not to be increased to maintain the unskillful and improvident; and he admitted that (if granted at all) it ought not to be contracted so as to afford support only to an establishment which had peculiar advantages beyond the reach of imitation. He did not know, however, of any such in the United States. In examining the degree of encouragement which it was proposed in this bill to give to American manufactures, we were naturally reminded of the view which had been taken of the subject by Mr. Hamilton, whose principles are considered as sound, even by the friends of this tariff. He, at least, was able to elevate his view to the just importance of manufacturing industry. Let us see the price which he proposed to pay for its support. The general tenor of his argument, and indeed the particular quo-

tation which had been made, sufficiently prove Mr. Hamilton's opinion to have been, that whatever bounties were given to domestic manufactures should be highest at first. The duties, therefore, which he proposed in his celebrated report on manufactures were such as he thought sufficient then, and such as, according to his principles, ought to be sufficient now. In forming his opinion, he did not overlook the advantages which the risk and expense of importation from abroad give to the American manufacturer. This protection of distance he estimates at from 15 to 30 per cent. Mr. Lowndes said he would state, without a formal comparison, a few of the duties which Mr. Hamilton proposed for the encouragement of manufactures. On manufactures of leather he proposed a duty of 7½ per cent. He was willing that cotton goods should be "raised to 7½ per cent." On glass, he considered the duty of 12½ per cent as a considerable encouragement, and thought that, if any thing further were given, it ought to be by a direct bounty out of the public treasury. Ten per cent on paper and gunpowder he thought a competent protection; and he proposed the same duty on manufactures of iron and brass. His principles were best explained by the application which he had himself made of them; and the enormity of the bounty which it was now proposed to give to the manufacturers could not be more strongly exhibited than by comparing it with that which was considered as adequate by so zealous and able an advocate of manufacturing industry as Mr. Hamilton. Duties four times as great as he recommended were now levied upon many of the most important articles, and were discovered to be insufficient and nugatory!

What he regretted, Mr. L. said, most, in the course pursued by the committee of manufactures, was, that they suggested no standard by which the sufficiency of the encouragement which they proposed could be tested, and promised, therefore, no limitation to the burden which might be imposed upon the country.—The chairman of that committee had, indeed, more than once, directed our attention to the duties imposed by the laws of Russia, France, and England—models which we had not learned to imitate. It was not extraordinary that governments which were obliged to drain every resource of revenue should lay heavier duties upon importation than we had done. There was no part, however, of their system of exaction in which we approached so near them as in our duties upon commerce. In attempting any comparison between their duties and those of the United States, it was obviously necessary to consider the difference of our circumstances.

In estimating the protection afforded to national manufactures by duties upon importation, it was not the absolute amount of duty that constituted a protection to the home manufacturer, in the case in which there was an internal duty upon the article, but only the excess of the foreign over the internal duty. Thus, if, in 1786, (before the commercial treaty between France and England,) the duty payable upon the importation of English hardware into France had been 50 per cent.—as the internal tax upon French hardware, if his memory did not greatly deceive him, was about 30 per cent on its value—the true amount of the protecting duty would have been but 20 per cent.—The inquirer, then, who should wish to know the real encouragement afforded by foreign duties must apply to all of them the correction deduced from this principle; and it would probably reduce many of them, which ap-

peared greatly to exceed our own, to an amount less than was exacted even under the present law in the United States.

The high duties of European nations, when they were not counteracted in the manner which he had mentioned, were mitigated by another circumstance, which could not be neglected in an estimate of their burdens. In nations of the same age, not very unequal in the density of population, and in their improvement in the arts, if trade were perfectly free, a large proportion of the necessities of life, including nearly all the coarser manufactures would be cheapest at home. A duty upon these would, in such countries, be nearly nominal. Among the European nations, too, if trade were free, the whole amount of importations would bear a much less proportion to the whole income of the country than in the United States. He supposed it certain that the importations of England, commercial as she was, were no half as great, in proportion to her income, as were those of the United States at present; nor were our importations now by any means as large, in proportion to our wealth, as in an earlier period of our existence. The duties which we pay now would have been intolerable 40 years ago, and European duties, however high, upon the articles imported, do not fall heavily upon the subject, because those articles form but a small part of his expenses.

If he did not exaggerate the deductions which the considerations which he had mentioned, require us to make from the duties of foreign nations, in comparing them with our own, he believed that no people on earth would be found to pay, in proportion to their income, so large a bounty for the support of manufacturing industry as those of the U. States.—He had not, however, had time to examine the details of the subject with any minuteness.

Unfair as the comparison between the duties of foreign nations and our own, must be, unless the corrections which he had adverted to were made, it might well astonish the house to find that there were many articles, and important ones too, our duties on which, as proposed by the bill before the house, might vie with those of France and England, without recurring to any of the considerations of which he had spoken. He would notice a few of them.

In France, machines of all kinds, including ploughs, pay 15 per cent.; by the proposed bill they will pay here 20 per cent. Wrought anchors pay in France 10 francs the hundred kilogrammes; by the proposed bill they will pay here \$3 33 the cwt.—more than three times the French duty.—Hosiery is in France 2 francs the kilogramme; by the proposed bill it will be here 33 per cent.

Whatever may be the disposition of England to sustain her manufactures by protecting duties, she has been obliged, in her late war with France, by necessity, and not judgment, for the support of her revenue, and not her industry, to make these duties still higher than they were before. But our manufactures might be gratified by discovering that some of the duties now proposed were higher even than those of England. The superior liberality at least of this country can hardly be denied by them. England, assisted by a most rigorous system of collection, has raised her duties, from the necessity of increasing her revenue, by all possible means. The U. States propose to raise theirs with the just conviction that they will impair their revenue.

In England the duty upon cast iron is 26s. 13s. 4d. the hundred pounds value; by the proposed bill it will be 150 cents the cwt.—(he supposed about 40

or 50 per cent. ad valorem.) Nankin, for home consumption, is, in England, 32½ per cent. ad valorem. By the proposed bill it will here be 40. Muslins are, in England, 32½, and cottons not enumerated, 62 per cent. By the proposed bill our duties on these articles will be from 40 to 130 per cent.

Much as such a course of observation had been discountenanced, he must now advert to another topic. What were the duties which would afford to the manufacturers reasonable wages and profits? If, at a time when every interest in the state was depressed, it was right that all the rest should contribute to the support of one, at least it should be only to its necessary and reasonable support. He had before spoken of the evidence laid before the House in 1816. That evidence had led Congress to the conclusion that, where the capital was prudently invested, and the manufactory conducted with common skill, a duty of 25 per cent. on cotton and woollen manufactures would sufficiently protect those of our own country. But the circumstances of the times now make the duty of 25 per cent. much more effectual than it has hitherto been. The appreciation of our money is, in this view, all important. In the specific duties this is obvious. If, for instance, the duty of 3 cents upon the pound of sugar, were a competent protection four years ago; the advanced value of money, of which the same nominal amount would produce much more of every article of consumption, must make it now much higher than is necessary. But, even in relation to the articles which pay a duty on their value, if the fall in the value of our produce be greater (as it certainly is) than in the articles which we import from foreign countries, although the nominal duty be unchanged, the real tax is much larger than it was. We still pay 6½ cents upon a yard of the coarsest cotton; but the same amount will purchase much more of provisions or labor than it would do formerly. The duty, then, is substantially increased; and if it has hitherto, with exaggerated prices and an unsound currency, proved inadequate, would it not be prudent, now that a change in these circumstances gives to the present tariff its fair operation, to wait the result of that operation?

The depression in the price of property and labor was confined to no section of the country, and to no branch of business.—The manufacturer, like the farmer, should estimate his profits not on the supposed value of his capital four years ago, not on what it then cost, or would then have sold for, but at the price which it would now cost, or would now sell for. Against this general depression we could not indemnify him; but there was a loss peculiar to manufacturers, from which no government could insure them, and which many of them felt very severely at this time. Whilst an improvement in machinery is useful to the country in which it is made, its immediate effect is often greatly to impair the capital of manufacturers. The old machinery must be abandoned. What relief would higher duties give to the owners of manufactories which had not adopted the improved machinery? It might encourage them to struggle a little longer with inferior machinery, but without permanent benefit, even to themselves; it must produce a real waste of the capital and labor of the nation.

Among the causes which at this moment depress the manufacturing industry of the country, one of the most considerable is to be found in that general diminution of income which affects the demand both for foreign and domestic productions. The

carriage makers, for instance, suffer probably as much from want of employment as any other class of manufacturers. There is here no foreign competition. It is a distress from which our tariff can give no relief. On the contrary, its effect must be by increasing the expenses, and diminishing, therefore, the clear income of the community, greatly to increase the difficulties of all those classes of manufacturers who suffer from a diminished demand.

His friends who had preceded him had referred to instances of manufactories which were prosperous even now, when every other industry was depressed, and particularly to that of an establishment (at Waltham,) which was understood to have divided 12 per cent. and reserved a considerable surplus. The committee of manufactures, in declining to give any detail statements upon the subject, had obliged him to resort to the sources of information which were within his reach. He should state to the House the opinion which his inquiries had enabled him to form, and he should state it in the words of a letter written by a man who was as well acquainted with the subject as any other in the United States. (Mr. Baldwin asked the name of the writer, which Mr. L. declined to give.) "Many manufacturers have been ruined, and many others lost money, but very little reflection and enquiry will make the cause evident. Perhaps the business has been conducted to the best advantage, when, in addition to the want of capital and experience, is added that of incorporated companies, where the principal meaning of the charter is to exonerate each holder of the stock, as well as the President, Directors, and Agents, from individual responsibility, for any debts due from the company. Consequently, in all purchases for the establishment, the agent would be obliged to give at least 10 per cent. more than the individuals could purchase it on their own responsibility.

"But, perhaps a greater cause of loss may be in the general fall in the price of every article used by manufacturers and in all kinds of manufactured goods, whether foreign or home-made, and also in the price of labor and improvement in machinery, compelling those that did not sell immediately on the goods being finished, to make heavy losses, for we suppose it is admitted that the cost of making any goods of which cotton or wool is the article of chief value, is not more than half the cost of making the same goods in 1816.

"In order more clearly to shew the consequences of not immediately selling, we give the following example, arising in our own business. We supply a maker of candlewick with cotton, and sell all the wick he makes, and during the year 1818, the business having been good for many years, he, with others engaged in the same business, had accumulated a considerable quantity on hand, which, during the year 1818, had been worth 30 to 35 cents per lb. when the raw material of cotton was worth from 30 to 33 cents, paying the spinner an average of 20 cents the lb. for his labor and expenses; but on the 1st of August last, the same kind of cotton could be purchased in this market at 15 cents the pound, and the price of wick had fallen so low as 31 cents, but yet paying 16 cents for the labor and expenses, which, we are convinced, is a profitable business. Hence, on the 1st of August last year, he could afford to sell his wick at what the cotton of his 1818 wick cost him, and at the time we were selling his new made wick at a profit, that made the year before was selling at a loss of the whole cost of making; and many kinds of

American goods have fallen in nearly the same proportion from the same cause and some still greater from other causes; for instance, we suppose the price of weaving is not at this time more than half as high as it was in 1816, owing to the introduction of power-looms, and the general low price of living.

"Next, let us examine the cost of four yards of American brown shirtings, three-quarters of a yard wide, (which may be considered the staple of American cotton goods,) say the present price of cotton is 16 cents, that will make four yards of shirting:

12 cents for spinning the same.

8 cents for weaving four yards, at 2 cents per yard.

4 cents for all other expenses, say commissions, freights, carriages, packages, &c.

"Added is 40 cents for making 4 yards, equal to 10 cents the yard, and when the same goods are now worth from 12 to 12 1/2 cents the yard cash at auction, leaving a profit to the manufacturer of at least 20 per cent. and when we reflect that the coarsest piece of cotton goods of the same size cannot be imported without paying duty at the rate of 6 1/2 cents the square yard equal to 4 50 3 4 cents, or within about 1 1/2 cents of the whole cost of making the same piece of goods; hence we must be satisfied that foreign competition is very much out of the question, for the lowest rates of duty on any kind of cotton or woollen goods (made to any extent in this country) is 27 1/2 per cent. on the value at the place of manufactory.

"We do believe, that manufacturing establishments well conducted, and the goods immediately sold at auction, have averaged a profit of at least 10 per cent. during the last two years, when, at the same time, imported cotton and woollen goods have averaged a loss of at least 15 per cent."

Mr. Lowndes said, that he would say no more as to the degree of additional encouragements which was required by our manufactories.

But he had a few observations to make as to the principles which appeared to have been adopted in the tariff proposed by the committee of manufactures.

Among the most objectionable of these was, what he considered as the proscription of the East India trade, the principal articles afforded by which were subjected to a duty of 40 per cent.

The ground of this proscription, was, that the East Indies took from us scarcely any article of our produce.

He had occasion on a former day to advert to one of the most interesting branches of this trade, to that in which neither specie nor produce was exported, but in which the enterprize and industry of our seamen formed the capital which a harsh, and, he thought, a mistaken policy, would condemn to inactivity. They took nothing from your country. But they explored the most distant seas—they climbed almost inaccessible rocks—they pursued their hardy and dangerous employments between the ports of savage nations, and earned by their freights a capital which fortune had not given them. You would encourage manufacturing industry because it was productive; but, the industry of the brave men of whom he spoke, created the capital which they brought back to our country. They did not twirl the spindle, or fling the shut-

tle, but when they brought home a cargo of India fabrics, (peculiarly suited to the wants of the poorest class of our society) was their industry less worthy of encouragement because they had made these fabrics on tempestuous seas, or because, in pursuing their own interests, they acquired and perfected the naval excellence which made them our pride and our defence? We gave them the hospitality of our ports; they might take in wood and water, and sail in search of some strange land, from which these products of American industry are not yet excluded? The policy appeared to him unjust and cruel.

But the other branches of East Indian trades merited encouragement, rather than prohibition. He had already spoken of the fallacy which represented a trade to be injurious, in which the imports exceeded the exports, and the East Indian trade furnished a good illustration of the fallacy. It takes, if you please, nothing of domestic produce from us; it gave to the consumption of the country in the year when he had last examined the subject, an amount of goods to the value of five millions. How were these goods paid for? Specie had undoubtedly been shipped both from America and Europe for their purchase. But our sales of East India articles in foreign countries had exceeded the amount of our purchases in India. Five millions of goods then consumed in the United States were paid for by the mere profits of the trade. Three thousand seamen, supported by the requisite capital, added in one year five millions to the clear amount of national income. There was no exportation of our produce to pay for these fabrics, because they were paid for already: they were the acquisitions of American industry.

He would not detain the house by talking of the injury which the Indian trade was supposed to do us by draining our specie. How the purchase of merchandize, either in India or any where else, of which we kept the part that we wanted, and sold the remainder for more than we gave for the whole, could lessen the specie which we retained, it would be a little difficult to explain.

Another characteristic of the proposed tariff, is its raising the duty on articles which had been lowered in the act of 1816, because from their small bulk, in proportion to their value, it had been found impracticable to prevent their being smuggled into the country. Watches, Jewellery, and Laces, had, among other articles, been reduced to 7 1/2 per cent. The reduction had been proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and adopted by the House on this ground. Had any examination into the fact been made by the committee of manufactures? They had raised other articles also which were known even at the present duties to have been introduced clandestinely—for instance, coffee from 5 0 6 cents, segars from 2 1/2 to 5 dollars. A large class of articles, of which the supply is almost exclusively afforded by the industry of the country, and on which an increased duty if it have any effect at all can only have that of unnecessarily increasing the price, is taxed in the proposed tariff considerably higher than now. Thus, carriages and furniture are raised from 30 to 35 per cent. boots from 1 1/2 to 2 dollars; candles from 3 to 5 cents; molasses from 5 to 10 cents; nails from 4 to 5; soap from 3 to 4; brown sugar from 3 to 4. He might make the list much longer.

It might have been expected that articles essential to the equipment of ships would have been protected from an increase of duties by a double

motive. As materials of our most important manufacture, they were entitled to the favor of the committee; but there was in regard to some of them another reason for light duties—that it was necessary to prevent the practice of ships being sent out imperfectly equipped and completing their equipment in foreign ports. Even under the present duties this was sometimes done. The committee, however, had disregarded both these considerations. As instances of this, iron in bars was raised from 75 cents to 1 25; iron spikes from 3 to 4; hemp from 1 50 to 2 50; tarred cables and cordage from 3 to 4. The tendency of the whole system to discourage our commerce with foreign nations, and by making returns more difficult to sink yet lower the price of every article of our produce, could not be disguised. He would not enlarge upon it; but he could not sit down without adverting to a consideration on which the house could not reflect too seriously.

The best security for the fair collection of the revenue was to be found in the force of public opinion. The activity of our little navy, if it were to be employed in such a service, would furnish but a poor substitute for it. In the fair collection of the public revenue the interests as well as the principles of our citizens co-operated with the efforts of the general government. They knew that they must contribute to the support of that government and the impost was the easiest mode of contribution: To evade it was to defraud the government of its just dues, and to expose themselves to the necessity of a much more inconvenient contribution. But could it be expected when the object of duties was not to obtain revenue, but to enhance the profits of a particular class of society, that the same scruples would prevail universally? In purchasing an article intended to be prohibited, the loss would fall upon the manufacturer, who might be considered as the object of unjust and inordinate favor, rather than upon the revenue. The law ought to be obeyed because it was the law. But for himself he had no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the present duties, enforced as they were by a general approbation of their objects, furnished a much better encouragement to the manufacturer than higher duties which should be believed by half the nation to be partial and unjust.

Mr. L. said that he knew he had trespassed quite unreasonably upon the time of the House, but he believed the bill under consideration to be injurious to the government, oppressive to the people, and dangerous to the stability of manufacturing industry.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH PROSPERITY.

Extracts from the Number of the Edinburgh Review for January, 1820.

"The first great war measure, by which we were to be protected from the evils of the war expenditure, was the new settling of the Sinking Fund in the year 1793: and when we say, that the whole plan, from the beginning to the end, has proved a mere deception, we mean to impute no improper motives to its authors, but only to state the fact as it ought to be stated,—and as it may be shown in a single sentence that it must be stated in order to express the truth: for it is a fact equally decisive and notorious, that this sinking fund has been formed ever since the year 1773, wholly out of the loans which have been annually borrowed.

The only service it has performed, has been that of enabling ministers to make loans with greater facility, and to persuade the public to bear taxation with more good humour, while it has encouraged a most profuse expenditure, and actually cost the public, for the expenses of the commissioners and office, the sum of 187,000*l*."

"Now, let us see what have been the prices, since 1797, of the same commodities.

"The prices of the last 22 years have exceeded those of the preceding 161 years by about 100 per cent.

"The taxes are now greater than they were in 1791, by 32,952,674*l* or something more than two-thirds.

"It appears, that the annual charge for the Funded and Unfunded debt is greater now, than it was in 1790, by 36,362,862*l*; and that the Peace establishment for the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services for 1819, exceeds that for 1790 by 13,991,261*l*. Thirdly, and lastly, as to the Public Debt, it will be found, by reference to official documents, that in the year 1792, the whole debt was 238,231,218*l*; and that it amounted, excluding Ireland, to 700,000,000*l* at the beginning of last year.

"The following may be considered as an accurate exposition of the actual state of our income and expenditure at the commencement of 1819. The total income of the United Kingdom for this year, taking the produce of the taxes as in 1818, would be 54,061,937*l* which sum, set against the expenditure of 67,739,882*l*, makes the deficiency of the income 13,725,945*l* for the year 1819."

"The grand result of all our finance plans is shortly this—First, that instead of being relieved by the Peace from taxation, by the repeal of all war taxes, Customs war duties have been made permanent to the amount of 2,769,000*l*. Excise war duties have been continued to 1821, to the amount of 3,500,000*l*, and they also must be made permanent, to accomplish the object of these resolutions: while, in addition to these war taxes so continued, new taxes have been imposed, estimated to pay into the Exchequer the net sum of 3,190,000*l*. Secondly, that instead of an efficient sinking fund of 23,195,900*l* to reduce the national debt, we have one, on paper, of 5,000,000*l* but according to the probable production of the revenue, one which will fall very far short of this sum."

"The total expenditure upon the public departments that are employed to manage and audit the public money, after it has come into the Exchequer, appears to amount to 1,100,000*l* a year."

"After having witnessed the facility with which the public was led to approve of the application of the Sinking Fund to the current expenses of the State, we should not be at all surprised to find the reduction of the dividends become a topic of general speculation, and even a favorite project of finance."

"The gross revenue, after deducting drawbacks and allowances, was 58,000,000*l*. The expense of collecting was, and still is, something more than 7 per cent."

"In Great Britain, the taxes amount to about 8*l*. 10*s*. a head."

"The first war that occurs, will find the country with a capital depressed by the taxes which directly obstruct industry: with a revenue scarcely able to pay the dividends on its debt; and with its debt, not only undiminished, but in all probability augmented."

"Insurrections of the most sanguinary and ferocious nature would be the immediate consequence of any very sudden change in the system of the Poor-Laws; not partial, like those which proceed from an impeded or decaying state of manufactures, but as universal as the Poor-Laws themselves, and as ferocious as insurrections always are which are led on by hunger and despair. Let no man hope to get rid of these laws, even in the gentlest and wisest method, without a great deal of misery, and some risk of tumult."

"In all cases the nutritive quality of the food is injured, by the artificial ingredients inter-mixed with it; and when these ingredients, as frequently happens, are of a poisonous quality, they endanger the health and even the life of all to whom they are vended."

"Among the number of substances used in domestic economy, which are now very generally found sophisticated, may be distinguished—tea, coffee, bread, beer, wine, spirituous liquors, salad oil, pepper, vinegar, mustard, cream, and other articles of subsistence.—Indeed, it would be difficult to mention a single article of food which is not to be met with in an adulterated state; and there are some substances which are scarcely ever to be procured genuine."

"Those, by whom the offence of adulterating articles of provision is committed, are generally creditable and wealthy individuals."

"After a lapse of five or six years, it cannot truly be affirmed, that any considerable improvement has taken place in any branch of industry. At this moment they are all nearly as much depressed as ever. Pauperism, instead of being diminished, is rapidly increasing. nor without some very decided change in our domestic policy, is there the least reason to expect any material improvement in the condition of the great body of the people."

"According to the late Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons on the Poor-Laws, the average expenditure of 1813, 1814 and 1815, amounted to no less than 8,164,496*l*.—a sum which the Committee states must since have been very greatly increased; and which, we believe, would now be underrated at *ten* millions."

"The condition of the great bulk of the people—of all who must depend on the wages of labour for support—is at this moment decidedly worse than at any former period."

"It appears, from accounts printed by order of the House of Commons, that the gross produce of the revenue of Great Britain, for the twenty years, commencing 5th January, 1797, and ending 5th January, 1817, amounted to the almost incredible sum of 1,290,180,529*l*. But, besides the enormous levies thus compulsorily wrung from the necessities of the poor, and the overburdened revenue of the rich, an additional sum of about 450 millions of real capital was borrowed by government, and added to our funded and floating debts."

"The sum of *twenty-two* millions—a sum greater than the entire rental of all the land in the empire—is annually drawn from the pockets of the industrious classes, to support that numerous class of persons whose capitals having been lent to the State are, in consequence, destitute of any other means of subsistence."

"A British workman might if he were permitted to buy his food in the cheapest market, purchase a quarter of wheat for 4*s*. or at most 5*s*. but the prohibition against importation, by raising its price to 8*s*. has precisely the same effect, as if he were to pay a direct tax of 3*s*. or 3*s*., on every quarter

he consumes; and averaging the consumption of each individual at three fourths of a quarter of wheat, it is really equivalent to a capitation tax of 22*s* 6*d*. or to more than three times the sum paid by the people of Holland, as a composition for the tax on bread."

"But on the hypothesis that the present income of the United Kingdom is equal to 350 millions, it is plain that very little less than one-third of the entire revenue of the industrious classes is swallowed up by taxation, and by the bounty to the growers of corn; or, which is the same thing, every poor man is obliged to labour two days out of six, not for the benefit of himself or his master, but in order to satisfy the demands of the Treasury; and this in addition to one-third of the profits of all fixed capital, such as land, machinery, &c. and of professional incomes devoted to the same purpose! Surely it is unnecessary to seek elsewhere for an explanation of the difficulties in which we are involved."

"It is this inordinate extension of the public burdens which has cast down respectable tradesmen, farmers and manufacturers, from a state of affluence and independence, to one of embarrassment, poverty, and misery—which has rendered it next to impossible for a young, healthy, able-bodied labourer to support himself by his unaided exertions."

"Palliatives may delay, but it is not in the nature of things that they should be able to avert the final triumph of pauperism. Nothing but a very great reduction of the demands made by Government, and the total repeal of the worst of all possible taxes—the tax on corn, can save the country from the abyss of poverty and misery to which, if it has not already arrived, it is fast hastening."

"The average price of corn in Britain, is more than three times its average price in Kentucky; but a Kentucky farmer, with a capital of 1000*l*. would, notwithstanding, derive from it at least as much profit as he could derive from the capital of 3000*l*. or 4000*l*. employed in farming in this country."

"The military peace establishment of Great Britain and Ireland in 1792, was fixed at 27,000 regular troops; and the whole aggregate force employed at home and in the colonies, amounted only to 44,000, and the expense to about two millions. Now, however, exclusive of a yeomanry force of between 60,000 and 70,000, which had no existence previous to the late war, we maintain 60,000 regular troops in England and Ireland only; and the entire expenses of the military department is at least equal to seven millions!"

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND RICE,

From Charleston to Foreign Ports, in May 1820.

Where	Bales Up-	Bales S.	Barrels	Ame'l.
Exported.	land	Cotton.	l. Cotton.	Rice.
Liverpool,	9775	2022	2452	538,338
Greenock,	2059	608	50	149,055
Belfast,	277	118		23,661
Havre,	2614	123	415	154,608
Bordeaux,	33		358	8,200
Nantz,	429		62	21,000
Amsterdam,	1377	8	2846	101,122
Hamburg,	344		544	26,572
Bremen,	100		1067	23,255
E. Market,	1619	125	356	93,433
Cuba,			811	13,505
TOTAL,	18,627	2994	8951	1,271,749
Exported in 23 ships, 12 brigs, 4 schooners.				

Bonaparte.

We are indebted to the National Gazette for the following extract copied from "Memoirs of the private life, &c. of Napoleon in 1815, by M. Fleury de Chaboulon, ex-secretary to the Emperor Napoleon, &c."

RETREAT from the BATTLE of WATERLOO.

The cessation of the firing, and the precipitate retreat of the wreck of the army, too powerfully confirmed to us the fatal issue of the battle.

The capture and plundering of the baggage of the army had suspended for a moment the enemy's pursuit. They came up with us at Quatre Bras, and fell upon our equipage. At the head of the convoy marched the military chest, and after it our carriage. Five other carriages, that immediately followed us, were attacked and sabred. Ours, by miracle, effected its escape. Here were taken the Emperor's clothes: the superb diamond necklace, that the princess Borghese had given him; and his landau, that in 1813 had escaped the disasters of Moscow.

The Prussians, raging in pursuit of us, treated with unexampled barbarity those unfortunate beings, whom they were able to overtake. Except a few steady old soldiers, most of the rest had thrown away their arms, and were without defence; but they were not the less massacred without pity. Four Prussians killed General in cold blood, after having taken from him his arms. Another general, whose name also I cannot call to mind, surrendered to an officer; and this officer had the cowardice still more than the cruelty, to run him through the body. A colonel, to avoid falling into their hands, blew out his brains. Twenty other officers, of various ranks, imitated the example. An officer of cuirassiers, seeing them approach, said: "They shall have neither me nor my horse." With one of his pistols he shot his horse dead; with the other, himself.* A thousand acts of despair, not less heroic, illustrate this fatal day.

We continued our retreat to Charleroi. The further we advanced, the more difficult it became. They who preceded us, whether to impede the enemy, or through treachery, obstructed the way, and at every step we had to break through barricades. When

* This circumstance was told to me, but the following I witnessed myself. A cuirassien, in the heat of the battle, had both his arms disabled with sabre wounds: "I will go and get myself dressed," said he, foaming with rage: "if I cannot use my arms, I will use my teeth.—I'll eat them."

halting for a moment, I heard cries and moanings at one side. I went to the place, and found they came from a ditch on the road side, into which two large waggon loads of wounded men had been overturned. These unfortunate people, tumbled in a heap under the waggons, that were upon them, implored the compassion of those who passed by; but their feeble voices, drowned by the noise of the carriages, had not been heard. We all set to work, and succeeded in extricating them from their tombs. Some were still breathing; but the greater number were stifled. The joy of these poor wretches affected us to tears; but it was of short duration—we were forced to leave them.

Still pursued and harassed by the enemy, we arrived at Charleroi, which place was so encumbered, and in such confusion that we were obliged to leave behind us our carriage and our baggage.

By chance M. de Brassao and I took the road to Philippeville. We learned, with a joy of which we did not think ourselves any longer susceptible, that the Emperor was in the town. We ran to him. When he saw me, he condescended to present me his hand. I bathed it with my tears. The Emperor himself could not suppress his emotion: a large tear escaping from his eyes, betrayed the efforts of his soul.

He afterwards dictated to me two letters to Prince Joseph. One, intended to be communicated to the council of ministers, related but imperfectly the fatal issue of the battle: the other, for the prince alone, gave him a recital, unhappily too faithful, of the rout of the army.

While I was dispatching these letters, he dictated to M. de Bassano instructions for the major-general. When he had finished, he threw himself on a sorry bed, and ordered preparations to be made for our departure.

A postchaise half broken to pieces, a few waggons and some straw, had just been prepared, as nothing better was to be had, for Napoleon and us; when some carriages belonging to Marshal Soult entered the town. These we seized upon.

The Emperor stopped beyond Rocroi, to take some refreshment. We were all in a pitiable state: our eyes swell'd with tears, our countenances haggard, our clothes covered with blood or dust, rendered us objects of compassion and horror to one another.

We arrived at Laon. The Emperor alighted at the foot of the walls. Our defeat was already known.

Some peasants came round us, and gaped at us with stupid looks: they often shouted, "Long live the Emperor!" but these shouts

His first intention was to retire to England and there place himself under the protection of hospitality and the laws. He opened his mind to the Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza. The former did not appear to relish this determination. The latter without condemning or approving it, advised him, if he persisted in taking this step, to go on board a smuggling vessel; and, as soon as he landed, to present himself to the magistrate of the place and declare, that he came with confidence to invoke the protection of the English nation. Napoleon appeared to relish this advice; but the counsels of other persons induced him to incline to the United States. He then sent to the minister of marine for an account of the American vessels, that were in our ports. The minister sent it to him immediately. "Take notice, sire," he wrote, "of the vessel at Havre. Her captain is in my antechamber; his postchaise at my door. He is ready to depart. I will answer for him. To-morrow, if you please, you may be out of the reach of your enemies."

M. de Vicenza pressed the Emperor, to avail himself of this opportunity.

Several Americans, who were at Paris, wrote of their own accord to Napoleon, to offer him their services, and assure him, in the name of their fellow-citizens at Washington with the sentiments of respect, admiration, and devotion, that were his due. Napoleon refused their offers.

The government, however, yielding to the continual importunities of the deputies, and of M. Fouché, caused it to be hinted to him, that it was proper he should come to some decision. The Emperor then declared, that he was ready to repair with his family to the United States; and that he would embark, as soon as two frigates were placed at his disposal.

M. Fouché and his followers did not stop at the first precautionary step; and, to deprive the emperor of the means "of forming plots," they took from him in succession, under pretence or other, most of the officers, on whose attachment he could depend.

I was not forgotten; and I received orders, as well as my colleague, Baron Eain, to repair to Paris. I informed the Emperor of it. "Go," said he: "you have my consent. You will know what passes there, and will acquaint me with it."

As soon as I was at liberty, I flew to Malmaison, Napoleon, who felt himself obliged by this continual posting, always condescended to receive me immediately. I gave him an account of every thing that could be interesting to him. I did not omit to inform him, that the enemy was already master of part of the environs of Paris; and that it was import-

ant for him, to be on his guard. "I shall have no fear to-morrow," said he to me; "I have promised Decres to set out, and I will be gone to-night." "Your Majesty is resolved, then," I replied, "to depart?" "What would you have me do here now?" "Your Majesty is right: but" "But what? would you have me remain?" "Sire, I confess to your Majesty, I cannot look on your departure without alarm." "In fact the path is difficult; but fortune and a fair wind" "Ah, Sire! fortune is no longer in our favour; besides, whither will your Majesty go?" "I will go to the United States. They will give me land, or I will buy some, and we will cultivate it. I will end, where mankind began: I will live on the produce of your fields and my flock." "That will be very well. Sire: but do you think, that the English will suffer you, to cultivate your fields in peace?" "Why not? what harm could I do them?" "What harm, Sire? Has your Majesty then forgotten, that you have made England tremble? As long as you are alive, Sire, or at least at liberty, she will dread the effects of your hatred and your genius. You were perhaps less dangerous to her on the degraded throne of Louis XVIII, than you would be in the United States. The Americans love and admire you: you have a great influence over them; and you would perhaps excite them to enterprises fatal to England." "What enterprises? The English well know, that the Americans would lose their lives to a man in defence of their native soil; but they are not fond of making war abroad. They are not yet arrived at a pitch, to give the English any serious uneasiness. Some future day perhaps, they will be the avengers of the seas; but this period, which I might have had it in my power to accelerate, is now at a distance. The Americans advance to greatness but slowly." "Admitting, that the Americans can give England no serious uneasiness at this moment, your presence in the United States will at least furnish it with an occasion, to stir up Europe against them. The combined powers will consider their work as imperfect, till you are in their possession; and they will compel the Americans, if not to deliver you up, at least to expel you from their territory." "Well! then I will go to Mexico. I shall there find patriots. and will put myself at their head." "Your Majesty forgets, that they have leaders already: people bring about revolutions for themselves, not for others; and the chiefs of the independents would be disconcerted by your Majesty's presence, if they did not oblige you to seek an asylum elsewhere." "Well, I will leave them as they are, and go to Caraccas, if I do not

annoyed us. In prosperity they are pleasing; after a battle lost they wound the heart.

The Emperor retired into a room with M de Bassano and me, and after having despatched fresh orders to Marshal Soult on the rallying and movements of the army, he put the finishing hand to the bulletin of Mont St. Jean, which had been already sketched at Philippeville. When it was ended, he sent for the grand marshal, General Drouot, and the other aides-de-camp.

I read this new twenty-ninth bulletin: a few slight changes, suggested by General Drouot, were assented to by the Emperor; but, from what whim I know not, he would not confess, that his carriages had fallen into the hands of the enemy. "When you get to Paris," said M. de Flahaut to him, "it will be plainly seen, that your carriages have been taken. If you conceal this, you will be charged with disguising truths of more importance; and it is necessary to tell the whole, or say nothing." The Emperor, after some demurs, finally acceded to this advice.

Arrival at Paris, Abdication, and Departure.

On alighting at the Elyseum, the Emperor was received by the Duke of Vicenza, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity. He appeared sinking under grief and fatigue: his breast was affected, his respiration difficult. After a painful sigh, he said to the Duke: "The army performed prodigies, a panic terror seized it; all was lost Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me I can say no more I must have two hours to rest, to enable me to set about business: I am choking here;" and he laid his hand upon his heart.

M. Regnault, witnessing the irritation that prevailed, went to acquaint the Emperor, that the chamber appeared disposed to pronounce his deposition, if he did not abdicate immediately. The Emperor, not accustomed to receive the law, was indignant at the force attempted to be put upon him: "Since this is the case," said he, "I will not abdicate. The chamber is composed of Jacobins, fanatics, and ambitious men, who thirst after places and disturbance. I ought to have denounced them to the nation, and expelled them: the time lost may be repaired"

The Emperor's agitation was extreme. He strode about his closet, and muttered broken phrases, that it was impossible to comprehend. "Sire," at length answered M. Regnault, "do not endeavor, I conjure you, to struggle any longer against the stream of events. Time passes on: the enemy is advancing."

The Emperor pettishly replied, "I shall see: it has never been my intention to refuse to abdicate. I was a soldier; I will become one again: but I want to be allowed, to think of it calmly, with a view to the interests of France and of my son: tell them to wait."

The Emperor himself, stunned by the force and rapidity of the blows, that his enemies inflicted on him, thought no longer of defending himself; and seemed to leave to Providence the care of watching over him and his son. He complained: but his dissatisfaction expired on his lips, and excited in him none of those resolutions, that might have been expected from the fire and energy of his character.

The Duke of Otranto, however, and the deputies who had concurred with him in pulling down Napoleon from his throne, did not look on his residence at the Elyseum without alarm. They dreaded, lest emboldened by the daring councils of Prince Lucien, by the attachment the army retained for him; by the acclamations of the federates, and citizens of all classes, who assembled daily under the walls of his palace, he should attempt to renew a second 18th Brumaire. They demanded of the chamber, therefore, by the mouth of M. Duchesne, that the Ex-Emperor should be desired, in the name of their country, to remove from the capital. This demand having no effect recourse was had to other means. Endeavours were made to frighten him. Every day officious advisers warned him, that attempts were making against his life: and to give more probability to this clumsy scheme, his guard was suddenly reinforced. Nay, one night we were roused out of our beds by a messenger from the commandant of Paris, Gen. Huljn, who warned us to be on our guard as the Elyseum was going to be attacked, &c. But so great was our contempt for these wretched impositions, we did not even think it necessary to mention it to Napoleon; and saw the return of day, without having lost a single moment's rest. Nothing however could have been more easy, than to carry off or assassinate Napoleon. His palace, which ten days before could scarcely contain the bustling crowd of ambitious men and courtiers was now one vast solitude. All those men, destitute of faith and honour, whom power attracts, and adversity keeps at a distance, had deserted it. His guard had been reduced to a few old grenadiers: and a single sentry, scarcely in uniform, watched the gate of that Napoleon, that king of kings, who lately reekoned millions of soldiers under his banners.

From the very day of his abdication, the Emperor had thought of seeking an asylum in a foreign country.

find myself well received there, I will go to Buenos Ayres; I will go to California; in fine, I will go from shore to shore, till I meet an asylum against the malignancy and persecutions of men."

MARIE STUART—The new French Tragedy

"The first question asked you in every society is, 'Have you seen Marie Stuart?' If you are obliged to answer in the negative, they turn from you with a kind of disdainful pity; but if you can give an affirmative to the question, you are called upon to resuscitate all your sorrows. The Tragedy being too much praised, it certainly causes some disappointment in the representation. It presents the character of Mary in a different point of view from that in which we have been accustomed to contemplate her. Mademoiselle Duchesnois being, to use the least ungallant expression the occasion will permit, not the handsomest woman, of course much of the illusion necessary to the scene is lost, when she is the representative of the queen of Scots, who never appears to our imagination but adorned with all the grace and beauty peculiar to her sex; besides they have made her character too passionate and violent. Through the four first acts she seldom appears but in a storm of passion, and which, in the interview with Elizabeth, in the park of Potheringay Castle, rises into an absolute paroxysm of fury, in which she flings about and stamps upon the stage, as if she would tear up the very boards; the stern-hearted arbitrary Elizabeth is a very lamb to her. This is neither historically nor poetically true, nor do we recognise until the parting scene in the fifth act, the tender, unfortunate, and resigned queen of Scots, whose hopes have been blasted, and spirit subdued by a nineteen years captivity, who pardons her jealous and unrelenting rival, and seems gladly to embrace death as a refuge from the cruel world which had abandoned her. This farewell scene, in which she takes leave of her women and servants, and distributes her jewels amongst them, is profoundly affecting, and draws forth an abundant tribute of tears and pocket handkerchiefs. The women weep and sob like children, and the men's eyes run like fountains—thus tender hearted are the Parisians. The closing scene is also excellent and extremely well managed. Mary is led out to the scaffold, and Leicester remains alone upon the stage, he listens at a window to the sounds which proceed from a chamber underneath, in which the execution takes place—he hears some one praying, he catches the sound of his own name, as if the victim was praying for him in her last agony—a breathless and portentous silence ensues, which is at last broken by the descent of the axe, he utters a soul harrowing scream, to which every nerve in the house vibrates, and falls senseless on the floor. The curtain drops. The effect of this last scene is terrible—is electric. It is in such a moment that Talma shows himself the greatest of actors—his deep-murmuring voice exerts a tremendous and almost supernatural power. Its bursting out is like a volcanic explosion of mingled passions—pity, love, self-hatred, remorse, horror and despair, are all sent forth in one wild expression of voice, and countenance, and attitude. The character of Leices-tee-re (as they pronounce it) is detestable throughout the piece—not possessing a single redeeming trait—he is a cold, calculating compromising courtier, and a mean pusillanimous and treacherous lover."—*Paris Paper.*

American Captives.

It appears by an official correspondence, copied below from the National Intelligencer of this morning, that our Minister at the court of Madrid, Mr. Forsyth, has seized the first favorable opportunity to effect the liberation of American captives, immured in Spanish dungeons. The liberal spirit of the new government did not hesitate a moment to grant this humane request, though the quondam ministers, Salmon and San Fernando had been solicited in vain six or eight months back for the attainment of the same object; but it appears, that according to the usage of *that day*, the communication was wholly neglected, as Mr. Forsyth never received any reply, on the subject. But how different the conduct of the present minister of State, Don JUAN JABET? In a few days not only a respectful reply is received, granting the liberation of our imprisoned citizens, but a decree issued to carry into effect this magnanimous act, both in Spain and America, thereby restoring to their country and their families, numbers who from principle and patriotism, had taken part with the independents of South America. In this respect, Mr. Forsyth's mission has been productive of more national advantage, in the eye of humanity, than if he had successfully obtained the transfer of the Floridas, and the abrogation of the disputed grants to boot.

Mr. Forsyth, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid, to Sr. Don Juan Jabat, Acting Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Madrid, March 31, 1820.

SIR: On the 18th of May, 1819, I had the honor to transmit to the Marquis de Casa Yrujo, ad interim Secretary of State and Despatch, a representation in behalf of some Americans confined at Malaga. On the 31st of July, I asked the attention of his successor, Mr. Salmon, to the same subject. On the 21st of September, I presented to the Duke of San Fernando a statement, on the part of the American government, of all the persons, citizens of the United States, who were known to be in confinement in different portions of the Spanish dominions, with a list of their names. To this list I requested that three other persons' names might be added, by a note of the 5th of October. To neither of those several applications, have I received a reply. The recent and very interesting events which have occurred here lead me to hope, that a recurrence to this subject may be useful. Having been directed by the President of the United States to use all the

means in my power for the restoration of the Americans confined to their country and friends, I trust that I shall be excused for bringing into view a subject of apparently minor importance. I have been unofficially informed that the Americans who were in confinement at Malaga have been liberated, whether by an order of this government, or by the spontaneous generosity of the local authorities, anticipating the decision at Madrid, I know not. I persuade myself, if His Majesty's attention should, in the midst of the weighty concerns that now occupy his royal mind, be recalled to this subject, that the same liberal indulgence would be granted to all. A generous forgetfulness of past differences of opinion among Spaniards has been proclaimed and warmly recommended. I should feel the most heartfelt satisfaction if the same magnanimous policy should be extended to my suffering countrymen, without discrimination. Those who are innocent would receive it gratefully, since the culpable would partake of its benefits. I forbear to dilate on this subject, referring you to what has been previously addressed to your predecessors, contenting myself with repeating, that such an act would produce the happiest effects on the future relations of Spain and the United States, two nations who have many common, few opposite interests, and who have, at this moment, in the similarity and liberality of their institutions, stronger inducements to draw near to each other, than any other two powers on the globe.

I renew to you, sir, the offering of my most sincere respect and perfect consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Translation of a letter of Don Juan Jabat, Acting Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, at Madrid, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

SIR:—I have the satisfaction to communicate to you, for the information of your government, that the King of the Spains, desirous to give to the United States of America continued proofs of his friendship for them, and of his wish to evince it more strongly at a period when, by the principles of their respective governments, both people have more nearly approximated to each other, has resolved to set at liberty all the Americans, of the United States, made prisoners within the dominions of Spain, for having taken part in the disturbances of His American Colonies.

His Majesty, in commanding me to make to you this communication, has further charged me to express his hope that this generous proceeding will be duly appreciated by your government; and the rather, when the injuries resulting to Spain, from a conduct so un-

justifiable, are taken into consideration; and that it will, in future, exert its whole authority and influence to suppress every hostile or piratical act derogatory to those principles of sound morality which should form the rule of conduct of all nations governed, as in the case of Spain and the United States, by a constitution founded on wisdom and justice.

I hereupon renew to you the assurance of my high respect, and I pray God long to preserve you.

JUAN JUBAT.

Madrid, 12th April, 1820.

[TRANSLATION.]

Copy of the Decree issued by His Majesty for the liberation of such Americans, of the United States, as have been made prisoners for taking part with the Insurgents in America.

Most Excellent Sir:—The King having been pleased to issue an act of pardon and oblivion, is desirous of giving immediate effect to it by setting at liberty all such Americans, of the United States, as have been made prisoners within his dominions for having borne arms with the Insurgents; for having acted as spies; for having been arrested without the requisite passports; for having aided and abetted, directly or indirectly, the existing rebellion in his American possessions; and in fine, all such as have not committed the crimes of robbery and assassination, or who may be confined for just debts. Circular letters to this effect are to be immediately despatched to all competent officers in America, in Spain, and in the garrisons abroad.

All which I communicate by Royal Order, for your information, and to serve the needful purposes.

God preserve you many years.

JUAN JABAT.

Palace, 12th April, 1820.

Mr. Forsyth to Senior Don Juan Jabat.

Madrid, April 12, 1820.

SIR:—I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's note of this day's date giving me information that the King of Spain had determined to liberate all the Americans, prisoners in the Spanish dominions, for having interfered in the disturbances with the Americas. I shall hasten to transmit this pleasing intelligence to the government of my country, who will find in it new motives to prevent all violations of that neutrality, within the strict limits of which it resolved to confine itself at the commencement of those disturbances. It is with infinite pleasure I shall perform this duty, as I well know this act of his Catholic Majesty will be highly grateful in itself to the American government, and be considered as the presage of future harmony between Spain and the United States—evidence of the

spirit of generous friendship which is hereafter to animate and regulate the intercourse between them. I rejoice that the policy and circumstances of this government have permitted the indulgence of his Majesty's benevolent disposition towards my suffering countrymen.

I renew to your excellency the assurance of my high respect and consideration.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Mr. Forsyth to the Consuls of the United States on the Mediterranean, in Spain.

Madrid, April 13, 1820.

SIR: I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the King of the Spain has directed all the Americans, prisoners, in different parts of the Spanish dominions for having intermeddled in the disturbances with the Americans to be liberated. I give you this information, that you may take the earliest opportunity to convey it to the Americans who may be in confinement in your neighborhood. At the same time, you are hereby authorized to say to them, that the expenses of their voyage, from the place of confinement to the United States, will be advanced, if necessary, by the American government. For this purpose, any advances you may make will be repaid to you out of the contingent fund of this Legation, or at the department of State in Washington, at your option. I am, &c.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Reported for the New York American.

Before SYLVANUS MILLER, Esq. Surrogate, &c. in the matter of granting Letters of Administration on the estate of John Haviland, late of the city of New York, tobaccoist, deceased.

Administration was claimed by two women, each alleging herself to be the widow of the inestate. It was averred and proved that one was the acknowledged wife of the deceased in Ireland, and as such cohabited with him there, and had a daughter by him, whom he always acknowledged as such; that she and this daughter arrived in this country with the father of the deceased, from Ireland about twenty years since, having been solicited to do by the deceased; that on their arrival they were all recognized in their relationship by the deceased; that the father and the daughter died, of which the deceased and his wife separated, by mutual consent. The other woman was then taken into the house, acknowledged as his wife, went by that appellation, and performed the various duties of that situation and character. The Surrogate decided that the evidence of the first marriage was legal and sufficient, and that that marriage must be recognized, in granting letters of administration on the effects of John Haviland. That marriage was, in this state, a civil contract susceptible of being proved by the same kind of testimony by which other civil contracts may be established, and must be considered in the present application. That therefore the woman who was acknowledged by the deceased as his lawful wife; with whom he cohabited as such,

and whom he had a child, acknowledged by him to be his, must be considered to have been his only lawful wife, and no other person could, therefore, claim to be his widow. He therefore ordered letters of administration to be granted to her. An appeal was filed from this decision to the court of probates, where the surrogate's order was affirmed.

VULGAR ERRORS.

1. That the scorpion does not sting itself when surrounded by fire, and that its sting is not even venomous. Keyser's Travels, Maupertius, Hughes Barbadoes, Hamilton's Letters on Phil.

2. That the tarantula is not poisonous, and that music has no particular effect on persons bitten by it, more than on those stung by a wasp. De la Lande's Travels, Naples; Abbe Richards' dicto.

3. That the lizard is not friendly to man in particular, much less does it awaken him on the approach of a serpent. Hughes' Barbadoes, Brook's Natural History.

4. That the remora has no such power as to retard the sailing of a ship by sticking itself to its bottom. De la Lande, *Alii passim*.

5. That the stroke of the cramp fish is not occasioned by a muscle. Bancroft's Guiana concerning the torporific eel.

6. That the salamander does not live in fire nor is it capable of bearing more heat than other animals. Sir T. Brown suspected it, Keyser has clearly proved it.

7. That the bite of the spider is not venomous, Reaumer. That it is found in Ireland too plentifully. That it has no dislike to fixing its web on Irish oak. That it has no antipathy to the toad Barrington. Philos. Trans. &c. Swammerdam.

8. It is an error to suppose that a fly has only a microscope eye. Dragon flies, bees, wasps, flesh, flies, &c. will turn off and avoid an object in their way, on the swiftest wing, which shows a very quick and commanding sight. It is probable, that the sight of all animals is in quickness and extent, proportioned to their speed.

9. The porcupine does not shoot out its quills for annoying its enemy; he only sheds them annually, as other feathered animals do. He has a muscular skin, and can shake the loose ones off at the time of moulting. Hughes *et alii passim*.

10. The jackall, commonly called the lion's provider, has no connexion at all with the lion. He is a sort of fox, and is hunted in the east as the fox is with us. Shaw, Sandys.

11. The fable of the fox and grapes is taught us from our childhood, without our once reflecting that the foxes we are acquainted with, do not eat grapes. This fable came

from the east, the fox of Palestine is a great destroyer of grapes. Hasselquist, Shaw.

12. The eye of birds is not more agile than that of other animals, though their sight is more quick. On the contrary, their eye is quite immovable, as is that of most animals and insects of the quickest sight. Brit. Zoology, &c.

13. The tiger, instead of being the swiftest of beasts, is a remarkably sluggish and slow animal. Owen's Dic. in verbo, Experiment at Windsor Lodge.

14. Sir Thomas Brown, who wrote against Vulgar Errors, maintains that apes and elephants may be taught to speak.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

DIED, on board the United States brig Enterprise, on her passage from the Havanna to Charleston, S. C. Lieut. CHARLES L. SPRINGERS, of the U. S. Navy, and JOHN J. BERRY, captain's clerk.

At New-Orleans, on the 3d ult. CHAS. F. WISS, a midshipman in the United States Navy, and a native of Louisiana.

Suddenly, with apoplexy, on the 11th ult. at New Brunswick, N. J. JOHN GARNETT, Esq. in the 72d year of his age, a native of England. His most distinguished trait was that of profound Mathematical research and acquirement, and the application of principles to practical purposes in the Arts. Gentlemen of science and erudition in the northern and middle states, cultivated his acquaintance, and esteemed his friendship. His house was the resort of science, intelligence and letters. Benevolence and affection irradiated his countenance and beamed in every action and sentiment. Prejudice and guile could not exist, where honor honesty, and a lively exercise of every moral and political virtue predominated and dictated the whole man. His scientific knowledge rendered him an ornament to the country which he had adopted, and his exemplary and useful life produced cogent reasons in the public estimation for deploring the death of this excellent man. Although advanced beyond the common period of life, when the mental abilities become more or less impaired still his friends had not yet discovered any imbecility of intellect or failure of memory. Mr. Garnett contemplated visiting his native country in the course of the approaching summer. But, alas! how little does man know of futurity "when in the midst of life we are in death." He retired to bed at the usual hour in good health and spirits, and about midnight his soul winged its way "to those regions from whose bourne no traveller returns."

In London, on April 12th, the celebrated ANTHONY YOUNG, Esq. aged upwards of 80 years. The mode in which this justly celebrated man attained his celebrity will readily recur to our readers; and it is such an one as ought to give permanence to his fame. He was a scientific, industrious, and enterprising agriculturist. He travelled in France, and other parts of continental Europe, as well as in Ireland and England, for the improvement of his favorite art; and the published accounts of those travels, as well as his numerous occasional letters on similar topics, have been extensively circulated and properly appreciated. He was a respectable correspondent of our distinguished countrymen, General Washington and Mr. Jefferson.

RALPH, June 10.

United States Engineers.—These Gentlemen made but a short stay on our coast—so short, that though the Board of Public Improvements were desirous of communicating with them, they had it not in their power. The first intimation of their intended visit was contained in a letter to Governor Branch, from Col. Armistead, Chief Engineer, dated the tenth of April, followed by two others from the Secretary of War. Gen. Bernard, and Col. Gratiot, and Totten reached Edenton about the 26th, (while the Engineer of the State was engaged in making an examination and survey of Croatan and Roanoke Sounds.) Tho' this fact was communicated to these Gentlemen, by a member of the Board of Public Improvements, they passed on to Washington. From which place the governor received a letter from Col. Gratiot, dated the 4th ult. informing him that the Board would be at Roanoke Island on or about the 15th of the month, "in execution of the President's orders to examine how far it may be practicable to open a communication from the Sound to the Sea at that point." Adding "that the Board would be anxious to meet there the State Engineer, or any of the members of the Board of Public Works."

The 15th was the day fixed for the meeting of the Board of Public Improvements in this city. The Board met accordingly; and on the letters which had been received by the Governor on the subject, being laid before them, it was forthwith resolved, that Mr. Fulton, the State Engineer should immediately return to the Sea-Coast, in order to meet and confer with the Board of United States Engineers. He accordingly set out; but when he reached Edenton, he found they had left the Roanoke Island for Norfolk. Mr. Fulton, agreeably to his instructions, followed them there; but had the mortification to find that they had left that place also for the North.

Mr. F. then returned: and as he is instructed to make an examination of Ocracoke Inlet, he may probably fall in with Captains Elliott and Elton, who we have learnt, the United States Engineers have left behind them, to make the necessary surveys of the Coast.—If so he will be able to communicate information which will doubtless be useful to these Gentlemen, in relation to the much desired Inlet from Roanoke Sound; though we regret he has not the satisfaction of conferring and in interchanging sentiments with the Board of Engineers themselves, in conformity with what we know was the earnest wish of the Board of Public Improvements.

STEAM NAVIGATION.

CHARLESTON, JUNE 8.—The steam-ship ROBERT FULTON which entered our harbour yesterday, is pronounced, on all hands, to be a most beautiful specimen of Naval Architecture—combining elegance of model, with strength and convenience. She has on board about seventy passengers, who speak of her in the highest terms of approbation. Her run from Havannah was made in 90 hours; and but for the strong N. E. gale which commenced with us at noon on Tuesday, her passage would have been nearly 24 snorter. She will proceed for New-York on Saturday morning.

A GOOD STORY—AND WELL TOLD.

Extract of a letter to the editor of the Carlisle Republican, dated York, (Pa.) May 16.

The Devil Caught.—"Some time since his majesty king Lucier was caught and safely delivered over to the custody of the jailor of this county, where he is at present in confinement, well secured and ironed, to wait the decision of the law. The circumstances are, as far as they have come to my knowledge, as follows:—A farmer in a neighbouring township, after his family had retired to rest, was sitting by the fire ruminating over the events of the day and the prospects of to-morrow, when suddenly the door of his apartment was thrown open, and in stalked a gigantic figure with a large pair of horns, very fiery eyes and terrible aspect, and a long brindled tail, which swung about the brimstone tyrant in all the majesty of ugliness. The terrified farmer stood aghast, whilst in a hoarse and hollow voice, he learned to his utter fear and astonishment, that the august personage before him was the Devil, who had come to take possession of his body and soul. The luckless farmer plead off. The Devil was inexorable.—The terrified man fell on his knees and begged a day, promising every thing in the world for a respite. At length his infernal Majesty offered to give him a few years time for the sum of five hundred dollars, which the farmer immediately presented in bank notes, but the devil told him he "durst not touch any paper money—his fingers would burn it." The farmer then promised and swore that he would have the notes exchanged for specie the next day, and if his majesty would please to call upon him the ensuing night he should have it. Upon this assurance the devil departed, and the next day the farmer came to this place, where he procured specie for his notes, and returned home, happy in the thoughts of getting so easily rid of his unwelcome visitor. In the course of the evening a Yankee pedlar stopped at his house and asked for lodgings, which were refused, and on the Yankee's insisting to stay, as he could go no further that night, and the farmer told him that he had better not, as the devil was to be there shortly, and would in all probability take him along. The Yankee, although a little surprised at the oddity of the man, replied that he was willing to risk it. He unharnessed his nag, swallowed his supper, and after providing himself with a good club, took his station in a private corner. The farmer stood his table before the fire, at one end of which he took his seat, and at the other end paraded his dollars, apparently wishing to avoid as much as possible, the sooty fingers and sul-

phurous scent of Mr. Belzebub. Accordingly, at a late hour the door flew open, in stalked his Majesty, accoutred as before, spitting fire and vomiting smoke in his passage to the table which contained farmer's ransom. The Devil who hates formality, immediately commenced gathering up the pieces, when our yankee, stepping up behind him, levelled a blow at his head with the club which did no further injury than knocking off one of the horns of Mr. Devil, who seemed disposed to make his escape, but fortunately a second hit with the club knocked him down, when, with the assistance of the farmer, who by this time had not so much dread of his Satanic Majesty, he was tied and conveyed to the prison of this place."

THE REVENGE OF AMERICA.

BY JOSEPH WARTON.

When fierce Pizarro's legions flew
O'er ravag'd fields of rich Peru,
Struck with his bleeding people's woes,
Old India's awful Genius rose.
He sat on Andes' topmost stone,
And heard a thousand nations groan;
For grief his feathery crown he tore,
To see huge Plata foam with gore;
He broke his arrows, stamp'd the ground,
To view his cities smoking round.
"What woes," he cried, "hath lust of gold
O'er my poor country widely roll'd;
Plunderers proceed! my bowels tear,
But ye shall meet destruction there;
From the deep-vaulted mine shall rise
The insatiate fiend, pale Avarice,
Whose steps shall trembling Justice fly,
Peace, Order, Law, and Amity!
I see all Europe's children curs'd
With lucre's universal thirst;
The rage that sweeps my sons away,
My baneful gold shall well repay."

PROPHETIC.

To a Lady who took offence at an idle remark made upon her portrait.

How oft like the spark, will an idle remark,
To a flame most alarmingly grow!
While, our minds in the dark, to no reasons will hark,
And a friend often turn to a foe!

It is held, the world round, as a maxim most sound,
The intention constitutes an offence,
And if there's no ground for intentional wound,
None's inflicted in the eyes of good sense.

In the duties of life, whether of husband or wife,
Of father, mother, brother, or friend,
How oft like the knife, will the least little strife,
Cut affections no healing can mend.

Then, ere it's too late to avoid ugly hate,
Let us list to the dictates of reason;
And while 'tis our fate to endure this frail state,
Let no trifle o'ercloud our short season.

B.

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SOUTH AMERICA.

Translation of the Law of the Congress of Venezuela, uniting the Provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, by the name and style of the Republic of Colombia.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW of the REPUBLIC of COLOMBIA.

The Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, whose authority has been voluntarily recognized by the people of New Grenada, recently liberated by the arms of the republic: considering—

1. That the Provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, united in a single republic, possess all the requisites for attaining the highest degree of power and prosperity:

2. That if formed into distinct Republics, and even united by the closest ties, far from profiting by their great advantages, they would, with difficulty, give stability to, and command respect for, their Sovereignty:

3. That these truths being deeply impressed on the minds of all men of superior talents and sound patriotism, have determined the governments of the two Republics to agree upon their Union, hitherto obstructed by the vicissitudes of war:

Wherefore, actuated by necessity and mutual interest, and conforming to the report of a Special Committee of Deputies from New Grenada and Venezuela,

And in the name and under the protection of the Almighty, they have decreed, and do hereby decree, the following Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia:

Art. 1. The Republics of Venezuela and New Grenada are henceforth united in one, under the glorious title of the Republic of Colombia:

2. Its territory shall comprehend the former Captain-Generalship of Venezuela and the Viceroyalty of New Grenada, including an extent of 115 thousand square leagues, the precise limits whereof shall be fixed hereafter.

3. The debts contracted separately by the two Republics, are hereby consolidated as a national debt of Colombia, for the payment of which all the property of the state is pledged, and the most productive branches of the public revenue will be appropriated.

4. The Executive power of the Republic shall be vested in a President, and, in case of vacancy, by a Vice President, both to be provisionally appointed by the present Congress.

5. The Republic of Colombia shall be divided into three great Departments; Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca, comprising the Provinces of New Grenada, which denomination is henceforth abolished: and their Capitals shall be the cities of Caracas, Quito, and Bogota, the adjunct Santafe being annulled.

6. Each Department shall have a Superior Ad-

ministration, with a Chief, to be appointed, for the present, by the Congress, and entitled a Vice President.

7. A new city, to be called Bolivar, in honor of the assertor of the public liberty, shall be the Capital of the Republic of Colombia. Its plan and situation to be fixed on by the first General Congress, upon the principle of adapting it to the exigencies of the three departments, and to the future grandeur to which nature has destined this opulent country.

8. The General Congress of Colombia shall assemble on the first day of January, 1821, in the town of Rosario de Cucuta, which, from various circumstances, is considered the most eligible situation. It shall be convened by the President of the Republic, on the 1st day of January, 1820, who shall communicate such regulation concerning elections as may be formed by a special committee and approved by the present Congress.

9. The constitution of the Republic of Colombia shall be formed by the General Congress: to which shall be submitted, in the form of a plan, the constitution decreed by the present Congress, which, together with the laws enacted by that body, shall be, provisionally, carried into execution.

10. The arms and flag of Colombia shall be determined on by the General Congress, and in the meantime those of Venezuela, being most known shall continue to be used.

11. The present Congress shall adjourn on the 15th January, 1820, after which the new elections to the General Congress of Colombia shall be made.

12. A committee of six members and a President shall replace the Congress, whose particular powers and duties shall be regulated by a decree.

13. The Republic of Colombia shall be solemnly proclaimed throughout the towns and armies, accompanied by public festivals and rejoicings, and this ceremony shall take place in the Capital on the 25th of the present month, in commemoration of the birth of the Saviour of the World, through whose especial favor this wished for union, regenerating the state, has been obtained.

14. The anniversary of this political regeneration, shall be perpetually celebrated with the solemnities of a national festival, at which, in imitation of the Olympia, premiums shall be adjudged to citizens distinguished by their virtues and their talents.

The present fundamental law of the republic of Colombia shall be solemnly promulgated throughout the towns and armies, inscribed on all the public records, and deposited in all the archives of societies, municipalities, and corporations both clerical and secular.

Given at the Palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, in the city of St. Thomas de Angostura, on the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1819—Ninth of Independence. Francisco Antonio Zea, President of the Congress. Juan German Roscio, Manuel Sedeno, Juan Martinez, Jose Espana, Luis Tomas Poraza, Antonio M. Briceño, Eusebio Afanador, Francisco Conde, Diego Bautista Urbaneja, Juan Vicente Cardoso, Ignacio Munoz, Onofre Bazalo, Domingo Alzuru, Jose Tomas Machado, Ramon Garcia Cadiz, Diego de Vallenilla, Deputy and Secretary.

The Snow Storm.

From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine for April, received at the Office of the Commercial Advertiser.

"'Tis only from the belief of the goodness and wisdom of a supreme being, that our calmness can be borne in that manner which becomes a man."—
HENRY MACKENZIE.

In Summer there is a beauty in the wildest moors of Scotland; and the wayfaring man who sits down for an hour's rest beside some little spring that flows unheard through the brightened moss and water-cresses, feels his weary heart revived by the silent, serene, and solitary prospect. On every side sweet sunny spots of verdure smile towards him from among the melancholy heather—unexpectedly in the solitude a stray sheep, it may be with its lambs, starts half-alarmed at his motionless figure—insects large, bright, and beautiful come careering by him through the desert air—nor does the Wild want its own songsters. the grey linnet, fond of the blooming furze, and now and then the lark mounting up to heaven above the green pastoral hills. During such a sunshiny hour, the lonely cottage on the waste seems to stand in a paradise; and as he rises to pursue his journey, the traveller looks back and blesses it with a mingled emotion of delight and envy. There, thinks he, abide the children of innocence and contentment, the two most benign spirits that watch over human life.

But other thoughts arise in the mind of him who may chance to journey through the same scene in the desolation of Winter. The cold bleak sky girdles the moor as with a belt of ice—life is frozen in air and on earth. The silence is not of repose but extinction; and should solitary human dwelling catch his eye half-buried in the snow, he is sad for the sake of them whose destiny it is to abide far from the cheerful haunts of men, shrouded up in melancholy, by poverty held in thrall, or pining away in unvisited and untended disease.

But, in truth, the heart of human life is but imperfectly discovered from its countenance; and before we can know what the summer or what the winter yields for enjoyment or trial of our country's peasantry, we must have conversed with them in their fields and by their firesides; and made ourselves acquainted with the powerful ministry of the seasons, not over those objects alone that feed the eye and the imagination, but over all the incidents, occupations, and events that modify or constitute the existence of the poor.

I have a short and simple story to tell of the winter-life of the moorland cottager—a story but of one evening—with few events but of no signal catastrophe; but which may happily please those hearts whose delight it is to think on the humble under plots that are carrying on in the great Drama of Life.

Two cottagers, husband and wife, were sitting by their cheerful peat fire one winter evening, in a small lonely hut on the edge of a wide moor, at some miles distance from any other habitation.—There had been, at one time, several huts of the same kind erected close together, and inhabited by families of the poorest class of day-labourers who found work among the distant farms, and at night returned to dwellings which were rent free, with their little gardens, won from the waste. But one

family after another had dwindled away, and the turf-built huts had all fallen into ruins, except one that had always stood in the centre of this little solitary village, with its summer walls covered with the richest honeysuckles, and in the midst of the brightest of all the gardens. It alone now sent up its smoke into the clear winter sky—and its little end window, now lighted up, was the only ground star that shone towards the belated traveller, if any such ventured to cross, on a winter night, a scene so dreary and desolate. The affairs of the small household were all arranged for the night. The little rough poney that had drawn in a sledge, from the heart of the Black-Moss, the fuel by whose blaze the cotters were now sitting cheerily, and the little Highland cow, whose milk enabled them to live, were standing amicably together, under cover of a rude shed, of which one side was formed by the peat stack, and which was at once byre, and stable, and hen roost. Within, the clock ticked cheerfully as the fire light reached its old oak-wood case across the yellow sanded floor—and a small round table stood between, covered with a snow white cloth, on which were milk and oat cake, the morning, mid-day, and evening meal of these frugal and contented cotters. The spades and the mattocks of the laborer were collected into one corner, and showed that the succeeding day was the blessed sabbath—while on the wooden chimney piece was seen lying an open Bible ready for family worship.

The father and the mother were sitting together without opening their lips, but with their hearts overflowing with happiness. for on this Saturday-night they were, every minute, expecting to hear at the latch the hand of their only daughter, a maiden of about fifteen years, who was at service with a farmer over the hills. This dutiful child was, as they know, to bring home to them "her sair worn penny fee," a pittance which, in the beauty of her girl-hood, she earned singing at her work, and which in the benignity of that sinless time, she would pour with tears into the bosoms she so dearly loved. Forty shillings a year were all the wages of sweet Hannah Lee—but though she wore at her labor a tortoise shell comb in her auburn hair, and though in the kirk none were more becomingly arrayed than she, one half, at least, of her earnings were to be reserved for the holiest of all purposes, and her kind innocent heart was gladdened when she looked on the little purse that was, on the long expected Saturday night, to be taken from her bosom, and put with a blessing, into the hand of her father, now growing old at his daily toils.

Of such a child the happy cotters were thinking in their silence. And well might they be called happy. It is at that sweet season that filial piety is most beautiful. Their own Hannah, had just outgrown the mere unthinking gladness of childhood, but had not yet reached that time, when inevitable selfishness mixes with the pure current of love. She had begun to think on what her affectionate heart had felt so long; and when she looked on the pale face and bending frame of her mother, on the deepening wrinkles and whitening hairs of her father, often would she lie weeping for their sakes on her midnight bed—and wish that she was beside them as they slept, that she might kneel down and kiss them, and mention their names over and over again in her prayer. The parents whom before she had only loved, her expanding heart now also venerated. With gushing tenderness was now mingled a holy fear and an awful reverence. She had discern-

ed the relation in which she, an only child, stood to her poor parents now that they were getting old, and there was not a passage in Scripture that spake of parents or of children, from Joseph sold into slavery, to Mary weeping the Cross, that was not written, never to be obliterated, on her uncorrupted heart.

The father rose from his seat, and went to the door to look out into the night. The stars were in thousands—and the full moon was risen.—It was almost light as day, and the snow, that seem encrusted with diamonds, was so hardened by the frost that his daughter's homeward feet would leave no mark on its surface. He had been toiling all day among the distant Castle-woods, and stiff and wearied as he now was, he was almost tempted to go to meet his child, but his wife's kind voice dissuaded him and returning to the fireside, they began to talk of her whose image had been so long passing before them in their silence.

"She is growing up to be a bonny lassie," said the mother, "her long and weary attendance on me during my fever last spring kept her down awhile—but now she is sprouting fiat and fair as a lily, and may the blessing of God be as dew and as sunshine to our sweet flower all the days she bloometh upon this earth." "Aye Agnes," replied the father "we are not very old yet—though we are getting older—and a few years will bring her to woman's estate; and what thing on this earth, think ye, human or brute, would ever think of injuring her?—Why I was speaking about her yestertay to the minister as he was riding by, and he told me that none answered at the Examination in the Kirk so well as Hannah. Poor thing—I well think she has all the bible by heart—indeed, she has read but little else—only some stories, too true ones, of the blessed martyrs, and some o' the auld songs o' Scotland, in which, there is nothing but what is good and which, to be sure, she sings, God bless her, sweeter than laverock." "Aye—were we both to die this very night she would be happy! Not that she would forget us, all the days of her life. But have you not seen, husband, that God always makes the orphan happy? None so little lonesome as they! They come to make friends o' all the bonny and sweet things in the world around them, and all the kind hearts in the world make friends o' them. They come to know that God is more especially the father o' them on each whose parents he has taken up to heaven—and therefore it is that they for whom so many have fears, fear not at all for themselves, but go dancing and singing along like children whose parents are both alive! Would it not be so with our dear Hannah? So douce and thoughtful a child—but never sad nor miserable—ready it is true to shed tears for little, but as ready to dry them up and break out into smiles! I know not why it is, husband, but this night my heart warms toward her beyond usual. The moon and stars are at this moment looking down upon her, and she looking up to them, as she is glinting homewards over the snow. I wish she were but here, and taking the comb out o' her bonny hair and letting it all fall down in clusters before the fire, to melt away the cranreuch!"

While the parents were thus speaking of their daughter, a loud sigh of wind came suddenly over the cottage, and the leafless ash-tree under whose shelter it stood, creaked and groaned dismally, as it passed by. The father started up, and going again to the door, saw that a sudden change had come over the face of the night. The moon had

nearly disappeared, and was just visiting in a dim yellow, glimmering den in the sky. All the remote stars which obscured, and only one or two faintly seemed in a sky that half an hour before was perfectly cloudless, but that was now driven with rack, and mist, and sleet: the whole atmosphere being in commotion. He stood for a single moment to observe the direction of this unforeseen storm, and then hastily asked for his staff. "I thought I had been more wether-wise—A storm is coming down from the Cairnbraehawae, and we shall have nothing but a wild night." He then whistled to his dog—an old sheep-dog, too old for its former labours—and set off to meet his daughter, who might then, for aught he knew, be crossing the Black-moss. The mother accompanied her husband to the door, and took a long frightened look at the angry sky. As she kept gazing, it became still more terrible. The last shred of blue was extinguished—the wind went whirling in roaring eddies, and great flakes of snow circled about in the middle air, whether drifted up from the ground or driven down from the clouds, the fear struck a mother knew not, but she at least knew, that it seemed a night of danger, despair, and death. "Lord have mercy on us James, what will become of our poor bairn!" But her husband heard not her words, for he was already out of sight in the snow storm, and she was left to the terror of her own soul in that lonesome cottage.

Little Hannah Lee had left her master's house, soon as the rim of the great moon was seen by her eyes, that had been long anxiously watching it from the window, rising, like a joyful dream, over the gloomy mountain-tops; and all by herself she tripped along beneath the beauty of the silent heaven. Still as she kept ascending and descending the knolls that lay in the bosom of the glen, she sang to herself a song, a hymn, or a psalm, without the accompaniment of the streams, now all silent in the frost; and ever and anon she stopped to try to count the stars that lay in some more beautiful part of the sky, or gazed on the constellations that she knew, and called them, in her joy, by the names they bore among the shepherds. There were none to hear her voice, or see her smile, but the ear and eye of providence. As on she glided and took her looks from heaven, she saw her own little fireside—her parents waiting for her arrival—the bible opened for worship—her own little room kept so neatly for her, with its mirror hanging by the window, in which to braid her hair by the morning light—her bed prepared for her by her mother's hand—the primroses in her garden peeping through the snow—old Tray, who ever welcomed her home with his dim white eyes—the poney and the cow;—friends all, and inmates of that happy household. So stepped she along, while the snow-diamonds glittered around her feet, and the frost wove a wreath of lucid pearls around her forehead.

She had now reached the edge of the Black-moss, which lay half way between her master's and her father's dwelling, when she heard a loud noise coming down Glen-Serac, and in a few seconds she felt on her face some flakes of snow. She looked up the Glen, and saw the snow-storm coming down fast as a flood. She felt no fears, but she ceased her song; and had there been a human eye to look upon her there, it might have seen a shadow on her face. She continued her course, and felt bolder and bolder every step that brought her nearer to her parent's house. But the snow-storm had

now reached the reached the Black moss, and the broad line of light that had lain in the direction of her home, was soon swallowed up and the child was in utter darkness. She saw nothing but the flakes of snow, interminably intermingled, and furiously wafted in the air, close to her head; she heard nothing but one wild, fierce, fitful howl. The cold became intense, and her little feet and hands were fast into insensibility.

"It is a fearful change," muttered the child of herself, but still she did not fear, for she had been born in a moorland cottage, and lived all her days among the hardships of the hills.—"What will become of the poor sheep," thought she,—but still she scarcely thought of her own danger, for innocence, and youth, and joy; are slow to think of aught evil befalling themselves, and thinking benignly of all living things, forgot their own fear in their pity of others' sorrow.—At last she could no longer discern a single mark on the snow, either of human steps, or of sheep-track, or the foot print of a wild-fowl. Suddenly, too, she felt out of breath and exhausted,—and shedding tears for herself at last sank down in the snow.

It was now that her heart began to quake for fear. She remembered stories of shepherds lost in the snow,—of a mother and child frozen to death on that very moor,—and in a moment she knew that she was to die. Bitterly did the poor child weep, for death was terrible to her, who, though poor, enjoyed the bright little world of youth and innocence. The skies of heaven were dearer than she knew to her,—so were the flowers of the earth. She had been happy at her work—happy in her sleep—happy in her kirk on Sabbath. A thousand thoughts had the solitary child,—and in her own heart was a spring of happiness, pure and undisturbed as any fount that sparkles unseen all the year through in some quiet nook among the pastoral hills. But now there was to be an end to all this,—she was to be frozen to death—and lie there till the thaw might come and then her father would find her body, and carry it away to be buried in the kirk-yard.

The tears were frozen on her cheeks as soon as shed—and scarcely had her little hands strength to clasp themselves together, as the thought of overruling and merciful Lord came across her heart. Then, indeed, the fears of this religious child were calmed, and she heard without terror, the plover's wailing cry, and the deem boom of the bittern sounding in the moss. "I will repeat the Lord's prayer." And drawing her plaid more closely around her, she whispered beneath its inefficacious cover, "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,—thy kingdom come,—thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Had human aid been within fifty yards, it could have been of no avail—eye could not see her—ear could not hear to hear in that howling darkness. But that low prayer was heard in the centre of eternity—and that little sinless child was lying in the snow; beneath the all-seeing eye of God.

The maiden having prayed to her Father in Heaven—then thought of her father on earth.—Alas! they were not far separated! The Father was lying but a short distance from his child;—He too had sunk down in the drifting snow, after having, in less than an hour, exhausted all the strength of fear, pity, hope, despair, and resignation, that could rise in a father's heart, blindly seeking to rescue his only child from death, thinking that one desperate exertion might enable them to perish in

each other's arms. There they lay within a stone's throw of each other, while a huge snow drift, was every moment piling itself up into more unsurmountable barrier between the dying parent and his dying child.

There was all this while a blazing fire in the cottage—a white spread table—and beds prepared for the family to lie down in peace. Yet was she who sat therein more to be pitied than the old man and the child stretched upon the snow. "I will not go seek them—that would be tempting providence—and wilfully putting out the lamp of life. No! I will not abide here, and pray for their souls!" Then, as she knelt down, looked she at the useless fire burning away so cheerfully, when all she loved might be dying of cold—and unable to bear the thought, she shrieked out a prayer, as if she might pierce the sky up to the very throne of God, and send with it her own miserable soul to plead before him for the deliverance of her child and husband. She then fell down in blessed forgetfulness of all trouble, in the midst of the solitary cheerfulness of that bright-burning hearth—and the bible, which she had been trying to read in the pauses of her agony, remained clasped in her hands.

Hannah Lee had been a servant for more than six months—and it was not to be thought that she was not beloved in her masters family. Soon after she had left the house, her master's son, a youth of about eighteen years, who had been among the hills, looking after the sheep, came home, and was disappointed to find that he had lost an opportunity of accompanying Hannah part of the way to her father's cottage. But the hour of eight had gone by, and not even the company of young William Grieve, could induce the kind hearted daughter to delay sitting out on her journey, a few minutes beyond the time promised to her parents. "I do not like the night," said William—"there will be a fresh fall of snow soon, or the witch of Glen Scrae is a liar, for a snow cloud is hanging o'er the Birch-tree-ling, and it may be down to the Black-moss as soon as Hannah Lee." So he called his two sheep dogs, that had taken their place under the long table before the window, and set out, half in joy, half in fear to overtake Hannah, and see her safely across the Black-moss.

The snow began to drift so fast, that before he had reached the head of the Glen, there was nothing to be seen but a little bit of the wooden rail of the bridge across the Sauch burn. William Grieve was the most active shepherd in a large pastoral parish—he had often passed the night among the wintry hills for the sake of a few sheep, and all the snow that ever fell from Heaven would not have made him turn back when Hannah Lee was before him; and as his terrified heart told him, in eminent danger of being lost. As he advanced, he felt that it was no longer a walk of love or friendship, for which he had been glad of an excuse. Death stared him in the face, and his young soul, now beginning to feel all the passions of youth, was filled with phrenzy. He had seen Hannah every day—at the fireside—at work—in the kirk—on holidays—at prayers—bringing supper to his aged parents—smiling and singing about the house from morning to night. She had often brought his own meal to him among the hills—and he now found that though he had never talked to her about love, except smilingly and playfully, that he loved her beyond father or mother or his own soul. "I will save thee Hannah," he cried with a

loud sob, "or lie down beside thee in the snow—and we will die together in our youth" A wild whistling wind went behind him, and the snow flakes whirled so fiercely round his head, that he staggered on for a while in utter blindness. He knew the path that Hannah must have taken, and went forward shouting aloud, and stopping every twenty yards to listen, for a voice. He sent his well trained dogs over the snow in all directions—repeating to them her name, "Hannah Lee," that the dumb animals might, in their sagacity, know for whom they were searching; and as they looked up in his face, and set off to scour the moor, he almost believed that they knew his meaning, (and it is probable they did) and were eager to find in her bewilderment the kind maiden by whose hand they had so often been fed.—Often went they off into the darkness, and as often returned, but their looks showed that every quest had been in vain. Meanwhile the snow was of a fearful depth; and falling without intermission or diminution. Had the young shepherd thus been alone, walking across the moor on his ordinary business, it is probable that he might have been alarmed for his own safety—nay that in spite of all his strength and agility, he might have sunk down beneath the inclemency of the night and perished. But now the passion of his soul carried him with supernatural strength along, and extricated him from wretch and pitfall. Still there was no trace of poor Hannah Lee—and one of his dogs at last came close to his feet, worn out entirely and afraid to leave its master—while the other was mute, and, as the shepherd thought, probably unable to force its way out of some hollow or through some floundering drift. Then he all at once knew that Hannah Lee was dead—and dashed himself down in the snow in a fit of passion. It was the first time that the youth had ever been sorely tried—all his hidden and unconscious love for the fair lost girl had flowed up from the bottom of his heart—and at once the sole object which had blessed his life and made him the happiest of the happy, was taken away and cruelly destroyed—so that sullen, wrathful, baffled, and despairing, there he lay, cursing his existence, and in too great agony to think of prayer. "God," he then thought, "has forsaken me—and why should he think on me, when he suffers one so good and beautiful as Hannah to be frozen to death." God thought both of him and Hannah—and through his infinite mercy forgave the sinner in his wild turbulence of passion. William Grieve had never gone to bed without joining in prayer—and he revered the Sabbath day and kept it holy. Much is forgiven to the human heart by him who so fearfully framed it; and God is not slow to pardon the love which one human being bears to another, in his frailty—even though that love forget or arraign his own unsleeping providence. His voice has told us to love one another—and William loved Hannah in simplicity, innocence, and truth. That she should perish was a thought so dreadful, that, in its agony, God seemed a ruthless being—"blow—blow—blow—and drift us up for ever—we cannot be far asunder—O Hannah—Hannah—think ye not that the fearful God has forsaken us?"

As the boy groaned these words passionately through his quivering lips, there was a sudden lowness in the air, and he heard the barking of his absent dog, while the one at his feet hurried off in the direction of the sound, and soon loudly joined the cry. It was not a bark of surprise—or anger—or fear—but recognition and love. William sprang

up from his bed in the snow, and with his heart knocking at his bosom even to sickness, he rushed headlong through the drifts, with a giant's strength, and fell down half dead with joy and terror beside the body of Hannah Lee.

But he soon recovered from that fit, and lifting the cold corpse in his arms, he kissed her lips, and her cheeks, and her forehead, and her closed eyes, till, as he kept gazing on her face in utter despair, her head fell back on his shoulder, and a long deep sigh came from her inmost bosom.—"She is yet alive thank God!"—and as that expression left his lips for the first time that night, he felt a badge of remorse: I said, O God, that thou hadst forsaken us—I am not worthy to be saved; but let not this maiden perish, for the sake of her parents, who have no other child." The distracted youth prayed to God with the same earnestness as if he had been beseeching a fellow-creature, in whose hand was the power of life and death. The presence of the Great Being was felt by him in the dark and howling wild, and strength was imparted to him as to a deliverer. He bore along the fair child in his arms, even as if she had been a lamb. The snow-drift blew not—the wind fell dead—a sort of glimmer, like that of an up breaking and departing storm, gathered about him—his dogs barked, and jumped, and burrowed joyfully in the snow—and the youth, strong in sudden hope, exclaimed, "With the blessing of God, who has not deserted us in our sore distress, will I carry thee, Hannah, in my arms, and lay thee down in the house of thy father." At this moment there was no stars in Heaven, but she opened her dim blue eyes upon him in whose bosom she was unconsciously lying, and said, as in a dream, "and the ribbon that ties up my hair, as a keepsake to William Grieve." "She thinks that she is on her death bed, and forgets not the son of her master. It is the voice of God that tells me she shall now die, and that under His grace, I shall be her deliverer."

The short lived rage of the storm was soon over, and William could attend to the beloved being on his bosom. The warmth of his heart seemed to infuse life into her's; and as he gently placed her feet on the snow, till he muffled her up in his plaid, as well as in her own, she made an effort to stand, and with extreme perplexity and bewilderment faintly enquired, where she was, and what fearful catastrophe had befallen them? She was, however, too weak to walk; and as her young master carried her along; she murmured, "O William! what if my father be in the moor?—For if you who need care so little about me, have come hither, as I suppose, to save my life, you may be sure my father sat not within doors during the storm." As she spoke it was calm below, but the wind was still alive in the upper air, and cloud, rack, mist, and sleet, were all driving about in the sky. Out shone for a moment the pallid and ghostly moon, through a rent in the gloom, and by that uncertain light, came staggering the figure of a man,—"Father—Father," cried Hannah,—and his grey hairs were already on her cheek. The barking of the dogs and the shouting of the young shepherd had struck his ear, as the sleep of death was stealing over him, and with the last effort of benumbed nature, he had roused himself from that fatal torpor, and prest through the snow-wreath that had separated him from his child. As yet they knew not of his danger each had endured.—but each judged of the others suffering from their own, and father and daughter regarded one another as creatures rescued,

and hardly yet rescued from death.

But a few minutes ago, and the three human beings who loved each other so well, and now feared not to cross the Moor in safety, were, as they thought, on their death beds. Deliverance now shone upon them all like a gentle fire, dispelling that pleasant but deadly drowsiness; and the old man was soon able to assist William Grieve in leading Hannah along through the snow. Her color and her warmth returned, and her lover—for so might he well now be called—felt her heart gently beating against her side. Filled as that heart was with gratitude to God, joy in her deliverance, love to her father, and purest affection for her master's son, never before had the innocent maiden known what was happiness—and never more was she to forget it. The night was now almost calm, and fast returning to its former beauty—when the party saw the first twinkle of the fire through the low window of the Cottage of the Moor. They soon were at the garden gate—and to relieve the heart of the wife and mother within, they talked loudly and cheerfully—naming each other familiarly, and laughing between, like persons who had known neither danger nor distress.

No voice answered from within—no footstep came to the door, which stood open as when the father had left it in his fear, and now he thought with affright that his wife, feeble as she was, had been unable to support the loneliness, and had followed him out into the night, never to be brought home alive. As they bore Hannah into the house, this fear gave way to worse, for there upon the hard clay floor lay the mother upon her face, as if murdered by some savage blow. She was in the same deadly swoon into which she had fallen on her husband's departure three hours before. The old man raised her up, and her pulse was still—so was her heart—her face pale and sunken—and her body cold as ice. "I have recovered a daughter," said the old man, "but I have lost a wife," and he carried her, with a groan, to the bed, on which he laid her lifeless body. The sight was too much for Hannah, worn out as she was, and who had hitherto been able to support herself in the delightful expectation of gladdening her mother's heart by her safe arrival. She, too, now swooned away, and, as she was placed on the bed beside her mother, it seemed, indeed, that death, disappointed of his prey on the wild moor, had seized it in the cottage, and by the fire side. The husband knelt down by the bed side, and held his wife's icy hand in his, while William Grieve, appalled and awestricken, hung over his Hannah, and inwardly implored God that the night's wild adventure might not have so ghastly an end. But Hannah's young heart soon began once more to beat—and soon as she came to her recollection, she rose up with a face whiter than ashes and free from all smiles, as if none had ever played there, and joined her father and young master in their efforts to restore her mother to life.

It was the mercy of God that had struck her down to the earth, insensible to the shrieking winds, and the fears that would otherwise have killed her. Three hours of that wild storm had passed over her head, and she heard nothing more than if she had been asleep in a breathless night of the summer dew. Not even a dream had touched her brain, and when she opened her eyes which, as she thought, had been by a moment shut, she had scarcely time to recal to her recollection the image of her husband rushing out into the storm,

and of a daughter therein lost, till she beheld that very husband kneeling tenderly by her bed-side, and that very daughter smoothing the pillow on which her aching temples reclined. But she knew from the white steadfast countenances before her that there had been tribulation and deliverance, and she looked on the beloved beings ministering by her bed, as more fearfully dear to her from the unimagined danger from which she felt assured they had been rescued by the arm of the Almighty.

There is little need to speak of returning recollection, and returning strength. They had all now power to weep, and power to pray. The Bible had been lying in its place ready for worship—and the father read aloud that chapter in which is narrated our Savior's act of miraculous power, by which he saved Peter from the sea. Soon as the solemn thoughts awakened by that act of mercy so similar to that which had rescued themselves from death had subsided, and they had all risen up from prayer, they gathered themselves in gratitude round the little table which had stood so many hours spread—and exhausted nature was strengthened and restored by a frugal and simple meal partaken of in silent thankfulness. The whole story of the night was then calmly recited—and when the mother heard how the stripling had followed her sweet Hannah into the storm, and borne her in his arms through a hundred drifted heaps—and then looked upon her in her pride, so young, so innocent, and so beautiful, she knew, that were the child indeed to become an orphan, there was one, who, if there was either trust in nature or truth in religion, would guard and cherish her all the days of her life.

It was not nine o'clock when the storm came down from Glen Scrag upon the Black moor, and now in a pause of silence the clock struck twelve. Within these three hours William and Hannah had led a life of trouble and joy, that had enlarged and kindled their hearts within them—and they felt that they were to live wholly for each other's sake. His love was the proud and exulting love of a deliverer, who, under Providence had saved from the frost and the snow the innocence and the beauty of which his young passionate heart had been so desperately enamoured and he now thought of his own Hannah Lee ever more moving about in his father's house, not as a servant, but as a daughter—and when some few happy years had gone by, his own most beautiful and most loving wife. The innocent maiden still called him her young master—but was not ashamed of the holy affection which she now knew that she had long felt for the fearless youth on whose bosom she had thought herself dying in that cold and miserable moor. Her heart leaps within her breast when she hears her parents bless him by his name—and when he took her hand into his before them, and vowed before the power who had that night saved them from the snow, that Hannah Lee should be his wedded wife—she wept and sobbed as if her heart would break in a fit of strange and insupportable happiness.

The young shepherd rose to bid them farewell—"my father will think I am lost," said he, with a grave smile, "and my Hannah's mother knows what it is to fear for a child." So nothing was said to detain him, and the family went with him to the door. The skies smiled as serenely as if a storm had never swept before the stars—the moon was sinking from her meridian, but in cloudless splendor—and the hollow of the hill was hushed as that of heaven. Danger there was none over the placid

night scene—the happy youth soon crost the Black Moss, now perfectly still—and, perhaps, just as he was with a shudder of gratitude, on the very spot where his sweet Hannah Lee had so nearly perished she was lying down to sleep in her innocence, or dreaming of one now dearer to her than all on earth but her parents.

EREMUS.

The proposed Tariff.

SPEECH of MR. McLANE, of Delaware, On the Tariff, in the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 26th April, 1820.

Mr. Hardin's motion to postpone the bill indefinitely, being before the House, Mr. McLane spoke as follows.—

Mr. Speaker—I am too sensible of the value of time, at this protracted period of the session, to task the patience of the House longer than may be absolutely necessary to submit the views I entertain of this subject. When efforts so zealous, urged as they are both by the force of individual character and best talents of the house, are made to defeat the principle object of this bill, I owe it to that quarter of the country which I represent, and which is deeply interested in the result of this question, to contribute my aid in behalf of a measure which I believe is calculated to mitigate the national distress and promote the national prosperity.

Besides the general principles which are involved in this subject, there are other considerations, to which I will beg leave first to refer, why this motion should not prevail.

I am free to say, that I do not entirely approve of the bill in its present form. It embraces too many subjects, and presents a combination of object which I fear will counteract, in the extent of its range, some of the benefits designed to be afforded to that portion of the national labor which most imperiously requires to be cherished. But though it may be in some measure true that the bill proposes more than the state of the country absolutely requires, the present motion does not propose enough. If the bill is too large, and calls upon us to do too much, it is no reason why we should do nothing. It is our duty to modify it, and adapt it to the wants and condition of the country.

And though it be true, as has been urged, that we are now near the close of a protracted session, we should remember, that it has been characterized by few of those measures to which the anxious eyes of the nation have been constantly directed, and that the subject now before us is one neither of the first impression, nor hastily got up. It has been before the people and the councils of the country for many years, and forced upon the reflection of the least considerate, by the pressure of the private and public distress which this bill proposes to relieve. The subject underwent a full investigation when the existing tariff was established; and the great error at that time was, that there was not afforded a degree of protection commensurate with the evils. The inadequacy of the existing tariff has been fully tested by past experience, and throughout the present session our pow-

ers have been invoked to supply its defects. We have already expended a week in investigating the details of this bill, which will be worse than loss of time if we separate without coming to a decision. If the protecting arm of the government is to be extended to the national labor, the policy should be announced without delay, otherwise, it may prove ineffectual for the object. Considerable capital is already embarked in manufacturing establishments, and if it be our interest to preserve it there, and to cherish its employment, it is indispensably necessary that we should inspire the capitalists with confidence in our policy, to prevent them from withdrawing it, or to save it from actual loss. If we fail to do so now, the remedy may be administered when the disease has sunk below its efficacy. A determination to foster this particular employment of the national capital may prove effectual now, even with an inadequate tariff, when without such a determination, it may be impossible hereafter to repair the ruins which might have been prevented by seasonable aid.

I am willing to unite with gentlemen in paring down this bill to reasonable limits, provided it shall be allowed to give abundant encouragement to the principal articles of public necessity and afford ample relief to the exigencies of the national labor; but I will take it as it is, rather than get nothing. It is our duty to relieve the distress which pervades the country, and there is much greater danger, in my opinion, that we shall do less, than more, than is necessary.

I beg leave also to divest this subject of the particular character with which it has been ingeniously attempted to stamp it. To associate it with sectional interests, and particular classes, is treating it unfairly, and resembles much more the indulgence of narrow prejudices, than the pursuit of a liberal policy for national purposes. It is calculated more to encrease a common evil, than to promote a general good, or to conduct us to an enlightened decision. The object is purely national, embracing the best interests of all parts of the community; it is to promote a common end, for a common benefit; to cherish the national labor and capital wherever they may be found, and to conduct them to profitable and nationable results. If the encouragement of that portion of our labor which can be employed in the manufactures of the country, will not do this, it ought not to be afforded. I claim for them no particular aid beyond what may contribute to the good of the whole mass of our national industry.

But the tariff has been assailed also with great confidence, and particularly by the honorable gentleman from Virginia, who spoke a few days ago with so much ability, Mr. Barbour, because of its revenue character. It is said it encreases the rate of duty on foreign merchandize generally, including articles of necessity, because of the high prohibitory duties upon those which are designed to be more particularly encouraged, and that it will finally lead to a system of internal taxation or excise. I confess I have not much reliance upon this bill, for purposes of revenue. I do not advocate it upon this ground; I value it only for the protection it would afford to the labor of the country, and I repeat my wish that it had been confined to this object, leaving the subject of revenue to its appropriate jurisdiction. But the objection is not so important as has been imagined; I am willing to look to a system of impost as the chief source of revenue, while it is adequate to the purpose; but

gentlemen must know, that this cannot be the case for any great length of time. However anxious we may be to avert it, the day will soon come when this nation will be compelled to rely upon its internal resources for its fiscal exigencies, and it therefore becomes our duty, by a prudent foresight to strengthen those internal resources, that we may be prepared for it, when it shall come. How can we expect to rely upon a system whose means are diminishing in the same proportion, that our demands upon it are augmenting? The first fruits of the impost system were poured into our Treasury by a commerce the most extensive and prosperous, and our wants were those of a young nation, with a thin population, and cheap and limited institutions. But the growth of the nation has been rapid beyond example; our territory has been much more than doubled, and our institutions have become extended in proportion to the limits of our territory and population. We have raised armies, erected fortifications, and planted works of defence around our whole frontier. We have built and equipped fleets which are indispensable guards of the rights, and indissolubly associated with the pride and glory of the nation. In short, we have taken a high rank among the nations of the earth, and our expenses are necessarily more than quadrupled, and in the nature of things must continue to increase. But in all this time, while our national progress has been upon this gigantic scale, our foreign commerce has borne no proportionable augmentation; on the contrary, it has been rather wasting away, until that which could formerly overflow your Treasury, cannot be swoln to half its demands. The tariff, however, so far from abandoning the impost, proposes to extract from it larger means; but it does not do this altogether on account of the encouragement afforded to manufactures, but in pursuance of the express recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, who, with the enlightened independence which so highly distinguishes his public conduct, has candidly exposed the extent of our wants & the inadequacy of the supply. I request permission to refer to his report at the present session as conclusive upon this subject. The Secretary of the Treasury, after particularly exhibiting the ordinary estimates of such a report, observes, "Under all the circumstances, it is respectfully submitted that the public interest requires that the revenue be augmented, or that the expenditure be diminished. Should an increase of revenue be deemed expedient, a portion of the deficit may be supplied by an addition of the duties now imposed upon various articles of foreign merchandize, and by a reasonable duty upon sales at auctions, but it is not probable that any modification of the existing tariff can supersede the necessity of resorting to internal taxation, if the expenditure is not diminished." The report then proceeds to recommend the present, as a favorable moment to afford efficient protection to our cotton, woollen and iron interests, if it can be done consistently with the general interests of the nation. Our session is now about to close and we have not diminished our expenditure, nor do I believe it would be practicable or advisable to do so. I would be unwilling to reduce the army or the navy, and I know of no object of retrenchment which would not weaken our strength at home, and our respectability abroad. A resort to other means of supply is therefore unavoidable. If we should be obliged to draw that supply from our home labor, it might be drawn safely and efficiently, if we now, by a wise

policy, render that labor flourishing, and save it from the deadly influence of foreign competition. The tariff does not create the necessity of this resort, but is auxiliary to the supply; it draws as much as possible from the impost that it may be compelled to extract less from internal means, and at the same time, it wisely augments the internal means by invigorating the arm of our own industry, and keeping at home that large amount of national wealth, which is now perpetually going out of the country, to enrich the foreign, and impoverish our own labor. Who does not see that any measure which tends to augment the stock of national wealth, must at the same time, increase the individual resources and swell the national supply? The honorable gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Barbour,) has particularly deprecated a system of internal taxation or excise, and principally because of the expensiveness of its collection. I have no such hostility. I believe the people have less to apprehend from a system of direct, than one of indirect taxation. In the former, they see and feel the weight of their burthen; in the latter, it may be multiplied to an alarming degree, before its enormity can be detected. A moderate system of internal taxes, is the safest and most certain source of supply, and in its nature will always be less oppressive than any other. Nor is it by any means clear that it is more expensive than the impost. The revenue in both cases, is paid by the consumer, who also pays the expenses of the system. In the case of the impost, he pays the merchant's profits, in addition to the duty; and are not these equivalent to the expenses of a system of internal taxes? But, sir, unfortunately for the consumer, under the impost system, he pays nearly a moiety of his price for the benefit of the foreign laborer, and thus subtracts from the fund of public wealth, that which should be kept in circulation at home. I cannot entertain a doubt that it would be the interest of this nation to foster its manufacturing labor and capital, even at the risk of a temporary discrimination in its revenue. The labor which would thus receive encouragement, would soon attain the capacity to bear an equivalent proportion of the national burthens, and by increasing all the streams of supply, ultimately enrich the public treasury. If it be necessary now for the government to stretch forth its arm to shield this infant branch of the national labor, from foreign rivalry, the day is not distant, when in its turn, it will give vigour and strength to the national sinews.

Having said this much, Mr. Speaker, in regard to the objections against the Tariff as a whole, I will proceed now to consider the general principles upon which I think its great objects may be maintained and recommended to our adoption.

I was fully aware of the principles of the writers upon political economy, which have been so earnestly and ably relied upon by the opponents of the Tariff, and though I am by no means disposed to involve in a common censure these principles and their authors, they appear to me to be unsafe guides in this discussion, where they are not sanctioned by experience, and tested by the practical operation of national policy. Much of the numerous treatises upon political economy consists in plausible theories founded upon a state of things which, in fact, have no existence, and with regard to the most of these theories, the greatest difference of opinion prevails among the authors themselves. Among these numerous theorists, each is the stout

advocate of his own system, and the world has not yet finally decided between them. One contends that agricultural labor is the only profitable source of wealth, and that manufacturing capital is unproductive—this is denied by another who advocates some other favorite branch of industry. A third is the advocate of commercial capital; another prefers the home trade; and a fifth contends for the superiority of a foreign commerce—so that scarcely any two of them agree, when they come to carry their respective systems throughout the details, and are yet litigating many of the principles which have been so confidently relied upon in this debate. Sir, it is the course of true wisdom, in us, to leave them to their employment, and adopt those principles only, which we find in practical and successful use. With these as our data, we must adapt our measures to our own wants and the actual condition of the world.

Now Sir, whatever contrariety of opinion may prevail, in regard to the mass of the theories upon this subject, there is a common foundation for them all, and that is, that the source of individual and national wealth is labor, and that the degree of the former, will be in proportion to the activity of the latter. We may also disagree as to the particular mode of employment in which this labor will be most productive, but all will agree, that it must be *employed in some way*. It must be made active, and if necessary, must be *stimulated to activity*. The evils of an unemployed, inactive labor, are always in proportion to its capacity, and all the vices which follow in the train of an idle population, will soon chastise a nation whose councils are inattentive to the employment of its labor. I am not the advocate of any particular branch of labor. I believe it is best, in general, that it should be diversified. I can have no idea of a nation purely agricultural, commercial or manufacturing. Their interests are mutual, and the advantage of each is always promoted, by encouraging to a certain extent the prosperity of the others. I am free to say, however, that in the United States, the preference should be given to the *agriculture* of the country. This should be the basis of our strength, the great fountain of our resources, and in the nature of things it always must be so. There is therefore no design to change the agricultural character of the nation into a manufacturing one, as has been so seriously deprecated in this debate. Such fears are altogether imaginary. At least nine-tenths of the power and influence of this country are agricultural, and it is utterly impossible that a course of policy can be pursued, for any length of time, which shall, in any degree, subvert that interest. The agriculturalist understands his interests, and will not be slow in resisting any serious encroachment upon them. In a popular government like ours, his resistance always will be prompt and effectual. Even in England, extended as are her manufactures, the agricultural interest is always predominant; and there is no instance in all the struggles with regard to the grain laws, and other measures in which these two great interests have been opposed, that the agriculturalists have not prevailed.

It is clearly among the first duties of a nation to make the labor of its citizens active, and direct it to the most profitable results. Not by undue means, to stimulate any particular branch of labor, to the ruin or injury of any other; but to stimulate the *aggregate of its own*, against the *aggregate of foreign labor*, and to protect any particular branch of its own labor, against the rivalry of foreign policy. If a

nation expects to become wealthy and powerful, it must exert itself to supply its wants by its own labor, rather than depend upon foreign labor for articles of the first necessity.

The principle is not only sound in theory, but is that which is in practical operation in every nation, who understands its own interest. They *sell all*, and *buy nothing* with which their own labor can supply them. Let us look to the example of England. She is agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. The state of her agriculture is equal to that of any part of the globe; her manufacturing interests more extensive than in any other. Her policy uniformly has been, to cherish her manufacturing labor as auxiliary to her national wealth, and to resist all foreign competition. It is manifested in the earliest dawnings of her history. She began with encouraging the manufacture of the coarse articles which constituted her prime wants, and afterwards followed up her policy with an unceasing assiduity, until she not only shielded her own labor from the competition of other nations, but in a great measure crippled their labor at home, and became the source of supply for all the world. Have we not seen the effects of this policy diffusing themselves throughout every branch of her industry, and over every part of her empire, until, by this means, there has been reared up a mass of wealth and power almost irresistible? It is true, we have been referred to England, for an example of the evils of what has been termed the manufacturing system, and her national debt; her insurrectional temper, and mass of pauperism, have been ingeniously urged in the debate. But these are not the effects of her manufacturing system. They are the result of the expensive wars in which she has been perpetually involved, and the insupportable weight of taxation consequent upon them; of a policy which has kept her continually embroiled, by intermeddling in the disputes of others, when she had none of her own on hands; a policy to which she would long since have fallen a victim, but for those abundant streams of wealth which her active labor continually poured into her lap; and, which she so lavishly drained in the cause of her unhallowed ambition. It does not follow that we are to imitate her in these respects, because, like her, we afford protection to our home labor; and I cannot believe that we shall be likely to meet treasonable insurrections by rewarding the occupation of the citizen with ease and cheerfulness. Insurrections, are the fruits of an idle, discontented, population—they may be produced by the neglect, but not by the watchful protection of the Government. The same policy was early adopted, and has been ever since pursued by France, Holland, Prussia, Italy, and many other powers of Europe; and all, who are at all conversant with their history, know, that similar effects proved the wisdom of affording national encouragement to national labor. The famous continental system of Bonaparte shews that he early discerned this real source of national wealth and power. When meditating the destruction of the British empire, he knew very well the source of her strength, and he wisely conceived the policy of drying it up. Had his ambition been tempered with some portion of patience, and he had consented to wait a few years for the gradual success of his policy, it would have been more omnipotent than his arms. His example, however, has not been lost upon the other nations of Europe; and though they did not yield to his schemes, Russia, and almost every other nation, excepting Spain and Portugal,

have voluntarily adopted it. The principle of the Russian tariff is, *to receive nothing from abroad that she possesses skill and labor to make at home.* Spain and Portugal are the victims of a different policy. They adopt the principles which, are every where written, and no where practised. Spain stands a solitary beacon, to warn us of her fatal example, which buried the highest spirit and best capacity in the miseries of idleness and luxury, and drove her population to seek a remedy through the dangerous paths of revolt and insurrection. If, Sir, I may be permitted to refer, for an historical fact, to the Book from Philadelphia, as it has been called, in which the zeal and ability of its author have embodied a mass of the most useful and important information; the case of Portugal affords the most striking instance of the effects of both theories. Portugal did adopt the policy of encouraging her manufacturing as auxiliary to her national labor, and those who are acquainted with her early history, will remember the success which crowned her exertions; but in the midst of her system, she was persuaded to consent to the admission of British merchandize, as the price of vending her Port wines in England. Her own labor immediately fell a victim to foreign competition, and her situation afterwards, is the best lesson we can draw upon the subject. The efforts of England to prostrate the labor of other countries, are not confined to Portugal—she carries them into every country, and she practices every expedient calculated to subserve her purpose. We know that her agents are scattered every where throughout the United States, and that they are unwearied in their exertions. In all their public speeches, the members of her Parliament betray their jealousy of our manufacturing prosperity; and at the same moment that her hired writers and journalists* are employed to assail public sentiment here, by denouncing the evils and immoral tendency of manufacturing establishments, the Government heaps bounties upon them and cherishes their growth at home, while they are sending their fabrics into all countries as auxiliaries to their writers.

I do not refer to the practice of other nations, however, merely for proof of the soundness of the principle of affording national encouragement to national labor; but, as evincing the necessity of our adopting similar regulations to counteract their policy. If the principle, that "things should be left to regulate themselves," be true, it is so only, when all nations observe it: it ceases to be practicable with the rest, when any one disregards it. If we were entirely insulated from the rest of the world, and carried on all our transactions within our own country, it might be urged upon us with considerable plausibility.—But we are a part of the community of nations, throughout which our intercourse is to be conducted, and all our exchanges made, and we are therefore sensible to the regulations in every part of it. If the same rule were universal among all nations, we might calculate upon an equal participation in all common advantages, and that our enterprise would push its own reward. But, if the regulations of other nations interfere with the natural course of things, if they obstruct the ordinary channels of business, and seek to confer advantages on their own labor, which it would not otherwise possess, we must either adopt countervailing measures, or become the victim of their policy. We have already

seen the extent of their regulations, pursued too with the express view of cramping the natural spring of our enterprise. If they receive the products of our agriculture, it is not to reciprocate the exchange, but from necessity, to supply their own wants; nor are they driven even to this expedient, until the scarcity among themselves makes it indispensable, while the products of all our other labor are subjected to a perpetual exclusion. The effect of this policy on the part of foreign nations, is to render our own raw products in a great measure useless, and to confer on the foreign labor a monopoly in our own market. These are unnatural advantages, which must be counteracted by similar encouragements to the home industry. If foreigners stimulate their industry, we must stimulate ours also: if they preserve a preference in their market, we must give to our labor a preference in ours; as they contract their wants of us, we must contract ours of them; if they pursue undue means to labor for us, we must take care to labor for ourselves; a contrary policy would render us dependent upon foreigners for every thing, since by their system of encouragement they can undersell us in any thing.

The system is not a new one in the United States. We have always deemed it our duty to protect the home labor against foreign competition. Our duties upon the agricultural products of foreign countries, were not imposed for purposes of revenue, but for the protection of our own agricultural industry.—And though gentlemen may be disposed to regard these regulations lightly now, because of the peculiar condition of foreign countries heretofore, they are nevertheless indicative of the sense we entertain of our true policy; nor should it be forgotten, that East India cotton is already imported into the United States, cheaper than it can be procured from the Southern states; and that the day may not be distant, when the competition in this article will be much more formidable.

We have adopted the same system also, for the protection of the commercial enterprise of the country. The heavy foreign tonnage, the high rate of duties upon merchandize imported in foreign vessels; bounties allowed on the exportation of fish; tonnage and drawback granted to fishing vessels; the exclusion of foreign vessels from the coasting trade, and the entire system of navigation laws, are evidently designed to give a preference to American ships and enterprise, over those of foreigners. I do not refer to these, in the spirit of complaint; far from it; the wisdom of the policy is apparent in its effects. Nor do I refer to them to shew, that, because we have done much for commerce, we should therefore do something for manufactures; but I refer to them, as demonstrating the utility of the doctrine, of leaving things to regulate themselves; as evincing the necessity of national protection for national labor, and of counteracting the effect of foreign competition upon our home enterprise, in whatever channel it may be employed.

But if the encouragement we have already given be insufficient for the purpose; if against these the foreign policy is able to raise its aim and paralyze our energies; if, in short, the labor of the country is now idle and unemployed, and an extension of the system of encouragement be necessary to render it active, shall we stop short of the object? Or shall we not rather afford it the utmost stimulus? What then, give me leave to ask, sir, is the present condition of this country? Do we require witnesses to be examined here, or before our committees,

* See the works of Southey and others; especially the letters of Esprella, ascribed to Mr. S.

to inform us of the want of employment, and the scenes of individual distress, and public embarrassment which every where prevail? Or are we to set down and calculate in figures their weight and extent? We are assembled here from all quarters of this extensive empire, and every gentleman brings with him a knowledge of private and public suffering beyond example! The Hon. Speaker, in the eloquent speech he delivered a few days ago, described to us the condition of the manufacturing establishments in the East, where, all admit, the closest economy is practised. But the East is not singular in its scenes of decaying houses, deserted establishments, and individual ruin; they are presented wherever manufacturing capital has been employed, and every one must see the ruin which has fallen upon thousands of our citizens, who formerly obtained their living in this species of labor. But, sir, I do not confine my observation to this class only; I invite gentlemen, to look at the conditions of the country at large, of all classes of labor, in every part, for it is to this sickening mass of general suffering, that the remedy is to be administered.—Consider the low price of property, as well real estate, as every description of our products—look at the decaying towns and villages, which are every where presented; at the thousands of the laboring classes of the community deprived of employment; at the numerous bankruptcies, which seem to blacken your cities, and fill them with dismay, and, almost, despair; at the mass of enterprise and skill, and science, now enfeebled, and borne down by cares, and weeping over a state of deplorable inactivity! Consider the universal stagnation in every branch of industry, agricultural, commercial and manufacturing! How is the face of this great country changed? Where late reigned plenty, and was heard the active hum of business, now meagre scarcity prevails, and idleness palsies the human energies; the poor are wretched, the man of large real estate lives only by the most rigid economy!

And what, sir, is the cause of all this? The answer is not difficult: The artificial state of things which succeeded our revolutionary struggle, and which with the stimulus given by our late war, has hitherto sustained us, has suddenly changed; the channels of our wealth are dried up—our labor is thrown out of employment by foreign competition. Give me leave, sir, to trace these causes more particularly.

Before the establishment of our independence, we relied for our supplies principally upon the labor of England, whose policy it was to preserve that state of dependence and discourage all efforts in her colonies to manufacture for themselves. But the successful termination of that memorable conflict, defeated her policy and gave a new spring to our enterprise, and the same spirit by which it was achieved dictated a resort to our own resources to give it perpetuity. The subject was almost the first that occupied our national deliberations, and the report of the illustrious man who then presided over the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton, portrayed with a prophetic hand the true course of national policy. It would have been pursued long ago, but for those desolating wars which soon afterwards broke out in Europe, and which has continued ever since, until very recently, with scarcely any intermission, and cramped both the agricultural and commercial enterprise of those nations. Their population was drawn from these employments to man their fleets and fill the ranks of their armies; they had little time for the cultivation of the peaceful arts, and we

became their growers and carriers. In such a state of things the population of the country at that time found full employment in the agricultural and commercial pursuits, and in the multiplicity of handicraft and other employments, to which a flourishing state of those two great branches of industry always give rise.

The demand abroad exceeded our means of supply; we received high prices for all our produce; our commerce penetrated all parts of the world; every man found constant demand for his labor; and the capital of the country had a brisk circulation; we exchanged all our products for the fabrics of foreign countries under great advantages, and increased in wealth and power with an unexampled rapidity. But a new state of things has taken place. Those wars have terminated, and the world is at peace. The population which filled the fleets and armies of Europe is withdrawn, and is now turned to agricultural and commercial pursuits. We no longer possess the exclusive advantages in these respects, they neither require our ships, nor our agricultural products. Their demand for our surplus produce, will diminish annually; for they are rapidly carrying into practical operation their policy of creating their own supply. We all know, too, that the India trade never did, and never will, require any part of our products; it deals principally in money and operates as a perpetual drain of our specie. If, in connection, with these causes, we consider our increasing population, the result is, that our wants of Europe are augmenting and theirs of us are diminishing. As we can export less, we must raise less; we cannot employ the same quantity of labor, and all those industrious people who were occupied in feeding the demands of a prosperous state of agriculture and commerce, are cast upon society without the means of subsistence. The result is, also, that as foreign nations will not take our surplus produce, in exchange for the articles for which we rely upon them, we must go in debt for the amount, and without any means, that I can discover, of making payment. The balance of trade against us, last year, was twenty eight millions of dollars, and every one must see that, as the wants of foreign nations are annually diminishing, this balance must encrease with the same proportion. What, though it may be true, as has been contended, that the present embarrassments may be occasioned in some degree by the inordinate extension of Bank capital, and the imprudent speculations of individuals; it neither makes the evils less, nor varies the remedy. If the distress be at all ascribable to this source, it is more because of the capital having been suddenly withdrawn from circulation, than because it was ever thrown into use. No doubt much of the individual embarrassment which now prevails would have been spared, if such an accumulation of Bank capital had not been made. But it cannot be disguised that this capital had become the standard of the business and transactions of the country, and if it had been permitted to continue, the labor of the country would in time have redeemed it. It has been, however, suddenly taken up—a stagnation of business, scarcity of a circulating medium, sacrifice of property, and want of employment ensue. The necessity for the interposition of Congress, is only encreased therefore; and as we refuse to create a national currency, the duty becomes more imperative to provide another remedy. The remedy is, to foster the national industry, to create a market at home for our surplus, and to make for ourselves what

we should be obliged otherwise to import from abroad.

We are here met by the objection, that if this necessity exist, labor will itself take the direction, without our interference.

That the necessity does exist, no one can doubt; it is palpable—it has existed for some years, and yet the labor has not taken the direction. On the contrary, a great portion of the capital heretofore embarked in almost every branch of industry is now idle; the distress is progressive, and the manufacturing labor is retrograding. The memorials from all quarters of the country prove this. I can speak from my own knowledge, of that part of the country which I represent, the manufacturing interest of which is by no means the least important. Of the state of manufactures there, I could draw a picture, without the aid of imagination, of the most gloomy nature; suffice it to say, however, that more than a moiety of the labor formerly employed in these establishments, is now without business; that many of the establishments are actually suspended, and that others will soon follow, without the encouragement now contemplated. I shall not deny that this state of things may be owing, in some degree, to the immense quantities of British goods with which this country has been inundated by the foreign merchant and manufacturer; but this only augments the evil—it is a striking illustration of the effects of foreign competition, in the continuance of which the British manufacturer, as well as his government, has an immediate interest. The honorable gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Barbour) is mistaken, however, in supposing that the American manufacturer calculates his profits upon his war capital, though, if he did, as he was encouraged by his government to invest it, it would afford no reason why he should now be abandoned in the day of his adversity. Such establishments, no doubt, feel the pressure more than others, but none are free from it, and even those which have been sacrificed at public sale, and passed into the hands of new owners at reduced prices, are unable to resist foreign competition.

The truth is, sir, that labor and capital will not of themselves, become immediately or extensively employed in manufactures, without the fostering aid of government, especially in seasons of great distress. They are not so immediately productive in these occupations, and in times of pressure and embarrassment, men look, and are obliged to look, more to an immediate profit and relief, than to ultimate and permanent advantage. In times of extreme need, our daily wants must be satisfied, we dread the slow progress of permanent success—Besides this, the changing from one business to another is always an affair of time, and has to encounter the force of old habits, and many other impediments extremely difficult to surmount. We see the force of habit constantly exemplified in the stubborn prejudice which is given to foreign fabrics which we have long been accustomed to use, over domestic productions of an equal or even superior quality. The knowledge of such a prejudice, too, cannot fail to deter the capitalist from encountering it. The first impulse of such necessity would be discerned in the manufacturing in families for their home consumption, and even this is slow.—But Manufacturing Establishments, which are to afford employment to the labor of the country, upon a scale commensurate with our condition, require both capital and skill. Property of a considerable value must be purchased, improvements made, and costly machinery constructed, which are

not adapted to other pursuits; and in the acquisition of skill, capital also, as well as time must be consumed. Agriculture may be pursued without much capital, and there are few who do not possess sufficient knowledge to cultivate the land, in which but little risk is required; but a failure in the manufacturing enterprise, is frequently attended with entire ruin. The apprehension of their risks, in competition with the foreigners, whose skill has been matured by a century, and whose capital has grown up under the invigorating hand of national encouragement, is, of itself, sufficient to forbid the experiment. It is, moreover, the result of the experience of all times and ages, that the success of manufactures has depended upon governmental aid—they have never flourished any where without it. And if encouragement has been found necessary in other nations, and in early periods, how much more is it required in this country, where, in addition to the general considerations and intrinsic difficulties already referred to, we have to contend with the bounties and premiums of other nations conferred with the express view of stifling our infant enterprise, and preserving their mature ascendancy! Such a rivalry is too unequal to be encountered. Without public aid the contest would be hopeless.

The case is fairly presented then sir, in which, from various causes, our home productions cannot stand a competition with those of foreign nations in our market; and in which in our national industry is incapable of being stimulated by the rivalry of foreign industry. In such a case, the best writers upon political economy pronounce the interposition of the Government necessary.* In such a case the most liberal aid cannot possibly do harm since it only accelerates a state of things, which it is necessary for the interests of the country should take place. Sir, it would be unwise to await the slow and miserable progress of our unassisted labor in such a conflict, marked as it would be, by the evils of individual want and public imbecility. Nor, Sir, can we forget our obligation to those who have already embarked their fortune in manufacturing establishments, in the full confidence that their efforts would be cherished and sustained by the national protection.

The degree in which the encouragement shall be afforded is then, Sir, the only remaining question. I am willing that this should be measured by the capacity of our labor, and the obstacles with which it has to contend. *But it should be sufficient to produce a successful rivalry, and secure the preference in the home market.* I do not advocate the policy of prematurely drawing the labor from one branch of industry to another; by extraordinary encouragement or, by high duties to create a capacity which is to be useful some twenty years hence. But, where we possess the capacity which, by a due preference in our own market, would supply our consumption with those articles, with the raw material of which, our own country abounds; there, I contend the duty becomes imperative to cherish the capacity and stimulate it to the highest activity. It is in this point of view among others, that the policy of the friends of the Tariff avoids the narrow construction now put upon the visionary theories of political economists—it is not entirely giving a new direction to the labour of the country, or creating new habits and employments at a great expense upon other classes. It finds the capacity existing; it looks to the direction which men's own dispositions and

* See Caniffa.

the course of events here given to the labor, and finding it struggling with a foreign competition, it steps into its aid, cherishes its resources, and secures them the scope of the home market. But the relief should be prompt and effectual. If the first Tariff, had gone to the extent now proposed, many of the evils of which we now complain would have been avoided. It is no answer to say that the Tariff was then deemed sufficient—and if the manufacturers then believed it would be, it only proves that they desired no extravagant aid. One thing however is certain, that Congress did not fix the duties at as high a rate as was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the result has clearly proved its entire inadequacy.

Do gentlemen doubt the capacity of our labor to supply our home consumption with all the articles of prime necessity, the great objects of every provident government? I refer them to the progress which has been already made under all disadvantages in the manufacture of coarse Cottons and Woolens, Iron, Glass, Paper, Leather and Cordage. In quality they are in all respects equal, and in many instances superior to the foreign article. Cramped as we have been, we have manufactured one third of our Cotton crop, and with the few hands which the owners of these establishments have been able to employ, they have supplied clothing for the Army and Navy, and gradually introduced their fabrics into most parts of the interior of the country. Of each of these branches of Manufactures, our own Country affords the raw material in abundance, and for the raw material of iron, glass, leather and cordage, we have no demand abroad. The raw material of iron and glass is entirely worthless unless used in the construction of the fabrics of this manufacture, and are by that means constituted a new and exhaustless source of wealth to the nation. If therefore, we depend upon the foreign supply for these articles, besides leaving our labor idle, we abandon this source of wealth at home, and pay a premium to a foreign nation for converting unprofitable materials into articles of great profit and advantage to their labor, at our expense! And yet it has been said in the debate that our manufactures contribute nothing to the national wealth! Sir, let us consider the operation of manufacturing labor upon the wealth of the nation. It would appear to my mind to be a proposition too clear for argument that a nation who labors to supply its own wants, instead of hiring foreigners to do it, as certainly grows rich by the operation, as does an individual who pursues the same process. If instead of sending abroad twenty millions of dollars annually, to pay the British manufacturer for his fabrics, we should make them at home, by labor which would be otherwise unemployed, then if we should not save to the country that twenty millions of dollars, there can be no confidence in mathematical certainty. I invite the attention of gentlemen to a few calculations as to the effect of employing the home labor in this way.

England draws the raw material of her cotton, woolen, and leather manufactures principally from other countries, and yet Colquhoun estimates her clear gain per annum, upon these three articles alone, deducting the cost of the raw material, at fifty three million pounds sterling. This is the result of a system which buys the raw material and sells the manufactured article; but in this country where we should work up our own raw material, which we cannot easily dispose of in any other way, the effect would be still more striking. We have

already made sufficient progress in this country not only to develop the capacity of our labor, but to illustrate its conduciveness to individual and national wealth. The able report of the committee of commerce and manufactures of 1816, states, that at that time, 100,000 persons were employed in the cotton establishments alone, in the United States, and that of these, 10,000 were males over 17 years, 66,000 women and female children, and 24,000 boys under 17 years of age. They employed a capital of \$30,000,000. They used 27,000,000 pounds of cotton, which at 30 cents amounted to \$8,100,000, and they produced 81,000,000 yards, which at 30 cents would amount to \$24,300,000, and yield a net gain to the country of sixteen million, two hundred thousand dollars. It ought to be remembered that of this sum, at least fifteen millions of dollars went into the pockets of these 100,000 poor people employed in the establishments—and blessed them with competence and an honest independence; it thus passed into general circulation, and filled up the veins throughout the body of the nation. What, give me leave to ask, would have been the condition of these 100,000 people had they not been so employed? It is too plain that they would have been in idleness and want, rather the objects of public charity, than the active contributors to public wealth; while at the same time, the sixteen million two hundred thousand dollars would have passed out of the country and gone into the pocket of the foreign labour and capitalist. Let us extend the calculation to our actual capacity; and contrast it with the effects of a foreign supply.

Our exports of cotton in one year, have been estimated at 90,000,000 pounds, which at 16 cents would be worth \$13,400,000; our labor is capable of manufacturing this at home; but if we procure our supply from a foreign country, we should take 270,000,000 yards, which at 16 cents would amount to forty three millions of dollars, and we should pay to the foreign laborer twenty nine million, six hundred thousand dollars, which we might have paid to our own.

The same report of the committee of commerce and manufactures, states that in the year 1816, there was invested in the establishments for the manufacture of wool including buildings and machinery, a capital of twelve millions of dollars: and estimated the raw material consumed at \$7,000,000, and the increase value of manufacturing at \$12,000,000. By these establishments therefore, even upon this contracted scale we made at home \$19,000,000 worth of woolen goods, which if we had brought from Europe would have cost \$12,000,000 the value of manufacturing. Nor was the profit of these operations confined to the manufacturing labor immediately employed; the capital which erected the establishments and constructed the machinery enriched the Mechanic, and that which purchased the raw material, went into the hands of the agriculturist, which is an additional illustration of the universal diffusion of these benefits throughout all classes of the community.

Nothing can be plainer sir, than, that by this operation of labouring at home we add a clear gain to the national stock; and the force of the argument is not weakened by the remark which has been made, that it puts nothing more into the pocket of the cotton grower, than if the articles had been procured from abroad. It takes nothing from him; but while it gives greater scope and certainty to his market, it rewards the labor of other parts of the country which otherwise would be impoverished.

And can it be denied, that every addition to the general stock redounds to the common benefit? Sir, the wealth thus accumulated by the individuals of whose immediate exertions it is the reward, does not lie idle in their hands: it goes directly into the general circulation. It becomes the interest of every class to render the earnings of their labor immediately and extensively profitable.—they are laid out in procuring an encreased supply of articles for consumption—in the purchase and improvement of land—in the erection of buildings both of taste and utility,—in projecting roads and canals, and in all those liberal objects of public improvement, which accompany the possession of ease and riches. These again open and promote new sources of labor and expenditure. The agriculturalists feel the impulse in the encreased value of his land and estate—and together with the Merchant and all others in the abundance of capital, and facility of intercourse, the laborer and Mechanic find full employment and liberal prices; specie abounds in all parts of the country, and ease and plenty crown the exertions of every branch of industry. This state of things has ever been the result of a flourishing state of manufacturing labor in all countries and times in which it has been cherished. I can assure gentlemen that I have witnessed the practical illustration of this system upon that part of the country in which I reside, when the stimulus of the late war had given life and activity to its industry, and put the establishments upon the Banks of the Brandywine in full operation. And, Sir, if I did not feel too keenly for those of my fellow citizens who have felt its effects, and for the condition of a country for many reasons, dear to me, I could delineate the melancholy reverse which now enfeebles the hand of labor, and paralyzes every species of enterprise.

Nor, Mr. Speaker is the policy proposed by the Tariff liable to the objection which has been urged of encreasing the price of the articles, and thus operating as a tax upon the consumer, for the encouragement of a few manufacturers. The manufacturers do not ask you to enable them to sell higher, but to sell at all; they do not wish you to raise the price of their articles, but to enable them to sell in our own markets, now monopolized by foreign bounty. The profits of the manufacturer depend no less upon the quantity sold, than the price obtained for it, and give the American Manufacturer his own market and he desires no increase of his price. Nor could he calculate upon such an increase, when the effect of the policy would be ultimately, to reduce the price in a considerable degree. The price of any article whether of foreign or domestic product, must in the nature of things, be regulated by the proportion of the supply to the demand. If the supply be abundant, the price will be low, and high if it will be scarce.

The foreigner will always get for his article the highest price he can, the home manufacturer will do no more. It is this proportion, which keeps down the price, where the supply is a foreign one, and why will it not produce the same effect, where it is domestic? If we possess the capacity to supply the demand, as I have shewn we do, the same principle will operate, and the competition at home will produce the same effect as that among foreigners, but it will produce even a greater one. Our opponents are obliged to admit, as especially the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Barbour, who has ingeniously attempted to render it subservient to his argument, that our use of improved machinery places us upon an equality with foreign

nations on the score of labor, and that in all other respects, we have the advantage; If then the foreign monopoly were done away, we could bring the article into the market cheaper, because we save the expence of distant transportation. We place the manufacturer and consumer by the side of each other, by which means the articles are brought into market unattended by the costs of transportation, freight, insurance and the profits of the merchant. But if I were to concede for the sake of argument merely, that the price would be higher for a short time, it would be but temporary, and the encrease of the price immediately tempting the further employment of labor, the supply would at once become proportionably greater. This temporary enhancement of price would not only be compensated by an ultimate reduction, but by an immediate addition to the national wealth as I have already shewn. These are the considerations which render the apprehensions on the score of high price, worthless in the eye of the statesman, who looks to the lasting and substantial interests of his country, who lays the foundation of her glory and independence upon a firm and lasting basis, and compares the inconvenience of a temporary privation with the strength and durability of her future progress. I am willing to submit to this temporary enhancement of price if it is to be so, and I am willing to compel my constituents to do so.

But it is said, and with a seriousness, which would indicate it as the chief source of apprehension with our opponents, that this employment of our labor will be prejudicial to our agriculture and commerce! From the considerations I have already endeavored to present in the course of argument I have adopted, these objections would appear to me to be groundless, and in a great degree answered. But there are too many sound reflections establishing a mutuality of interest in the three branches of industry, to be slightly passed by.

I have already adverted to the condition of our commercial enterprise. We have already seen how very much it has been circumscribed, and that without the recurrence of events which we cannot reasonably anticipate, it can never expand to its former dimensions. In contracting our wants of foreign labor therefore, in the extent to which I have limited my views, and in cherishing of our own manufacture of articles of the first necessity, we do not abridge the commercial enterprise; we simply employ the labor which it cannot do, without injury to the nation, and we leave it an ample range for all its means in that portion of the foreign trade with which we cannot now, and perhaps never can dispense. Sir, this abridgement in the commercial trade will take place without the Tariff.—We cannot long endure the destructive balance of trade we have already seen accumulating. We shall be driven to contract our wants by lessening our consumption; our inability to pay for them will oblige us to curtail our foreign importations, whether we pass this Tariff or not.

But if we labor at home, as we encrease our means, we shall encrease our ability to use those articles of luxury, for which we rely upon the foreign trade, and thus continually enlarge the sphere of commercial capital; and give a new spring to its activity.

The commercial labor and capital will also find additional employment in an enlarged coasting trade, to which an improved home market would give rise, and we cannot be unmindful that in our

future progress, it may become our privilege to sell to others the articles which we are now compelled to buy from them. The day is not distant when the South American markets will open to us a vent for all our surplus, in which, with the fostering aid of our government, we may sustain a rivalry with every other nation. In such an event our commercial activity would have the most ample scope.

But Mr. Speaker the interest of the Agriculturist in the success of the manufacturing labor, appears to me so manifest, that I cannot suppress my surprise that ingenuity itself has been able to frame an objection upon this part of the subject. The benefits conferred upon the agricultural interest have served more than any thing else, to fix my conviction in favor of this tariff.

I have already adverted to the present depressed and embarrassed state of our agriculture, and have endeavored to shew the general spirit of energy and exertion, which the accumulation of wealth by the employment of the home labor, must produce: and the manner in which its first spring would be felt by the agricultural interest. As the agricultural labor is at the end of the foundation of every other, it is the first to share in their prosperity; the success of manufactures cannot subdue it from the labor employed in agriculture, as has been argued, and must therefore only impart new vigor to its energies. The national encouragement confined to the objects which I have specified, would do no more than employ that portion of labor which the weakness of the demand renders useless in agricultural pursuits, and the manufactures alluded to, would be conducted principally by new labor, or labor that could not be otherwise employed, but would be idle and unproductive. We have seen that labor in manufacturing establishments consists for the most part in machinery and women and children and in addition to the remarks of the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia. Mr. Barbour, demonstrating the wonderful effect of machinery it may be observed that the use of it is a clear addition to the national labor, requiring no expence to support it. The use of the powerful auxiliary, breaks up all the foundations upon which the old objection rests, that in new countries, and a thin population manufactures are injurious. The employment of women and children open to the farmer a new source of profit, by offering new occupations to his family and contributing to their subsistence. I do not admit the dangerous influence of such occupation upon the morals of the children. There is no sound theory which authorizes us to infer that constant employment, rather than idleness and poverty injures the moral character, and my own observation directly contradicts the objection; I do not believe there is any district of country in which there is less vice and criminality than in the manufacturing establishments in the vicinity of my residence, and particularly those located upon the Brandywine. In these establishments there are hundreds of poor children employed, and I am sure that the utmost attention is paid so their moral habits and a system of schools and education have been founded through the liberality of their employers, which yield them a fund of instruction which they could never hope to acquire, from the poverty of their parents.

But even if a few hands should be taken from the agricultural pursuits, no injury could result from it. We already raise more than we can send abroad, and the effect would only be to improve the soil, and raise more from fewer acres and with

less labor, and of consequence, with greater profit a system of cultivation which I believe it is the interest of every agriculturalist to pursue. We cultivate too much poor land, and waste our labor upon an impoverished soil.

The great interest however which the Agriculturists has in the success of Manufactures, is the *home market*, which they afford for his surplus products: a consideration in which is involved every motive which is calculated to invigorate agricultural labor, and secure the National independence. The *home market* is both of greater scope, and of much more certainly than the foreign market—it increases with the growth of the country, and enlarges with the sphere of our wants. If we drew our supplies from our own manufacturing labor, the demand for the raw material, and the agricultural product, would preserve the proper proportion, and ensure their consumption without a dependence upon foreign demand. The state of a foreign market depends upon the wants and policy of foreign interests, never favorable to ours, and often conflicting with them. It is completely at the mercy not only of the disputes of foreign nations with us, but also of their particular relations among themselves which we cannot either avert or control. If our market is abroad, the arrival of every ship, will produce a fluctuation, and either reduce our prices, or raise them to be again suddenly depressed, baffling the most prudent calculations of the farmer. If it is at home the varying course of foreign policy cannot effect it, things flow on, in an even channel, and the labors of the agriculturalist and Manufacturer mutually cheer each other, and impart new vigor to the home labor.

I do not attach any weight to the argument which urges the *inadequacy of the home market*. If the branches of Manufactures to which I have principally adverted, were in full operation, their labor would rely entirely for their supply upon the Agricultural class, instead of raising for themselves as they are now compelled to do, from necessity; and they would certainly consume and require as much as the foreign labor. The consideration applies with peculiar force to the United States, where the Agricultural labor, from the great diversity of soil and climate, find the best profit in the production of articles peculiarly adapted to the Manufacturing demand. The demand of the agriculturist for the products of the Woolen, Cotton, Iron and Glass Manufacturer, of the maker of paper and leather—of the hatter, fullers and dyers, and the numerous other trades connected with these, is extensive and constant, and it is impossible to suppose that all these when in full operation will not furnish a complete market for the agricultural produce which will of necessity be adapted to the demand, by which means a market would be afforded for many of the agricultural products to a much greater extent than could be otherwise expected, such as the ores of Iron and Glass, coal, fuel of all kinds, vegetables, dye stuffs, and grain itself, where it is used in some branches of manufacture for other than the purpose of food. There would also be an increased and increasing demand by multiplying the number of consumers by emigration from foreign countries, and by increasing the capacity to consume. Men live in proportion to their wants, abundance flows in the train of riches, and the consumption is always in proportion to the wealth of the consumers.

But the *home market*, will also be more permanent, since it will always depend upon our own wants and condition. Foreign nations possess both the disposition and ability to depress our agricultural labor, and though gentlemen now effect to attach more importance to the apprehension of their capacity to undersell us in our own market; they should not overlook a danger much more eminent and equally fatal,—their capacity to dispense with our productions, in their market. When such an event, to which the whole scope of foreign policy is tending, shall happen, the importance of the *home market* will be taught by a necessity which a wise foresight should now provide against.

I have already adverted to the redundant population which the present state of Europe will necessarily employ in agricultural pursuits, which are presented in the wide scope of territory which each of those powers possess. England herself, has much land which she may yet reduce to cultivation, so that every year they will diminish their wants of our supply. I entreat gentlemen from the South, to consider the argument in regard to the single article of cotton, as illustrating its full force. Foreign nations are annually taking less of this article from the United States and using every means in their power to dispense with our supply altogether. Even England, from whom we must procure our fabrics unless we determine to work for ourselves, is annually increasing her supply from India and Brazil, and lessening it from us; and it will be observed by a reference to Seybert's Statistics, that while her importations from the United States are nearly stationary, those from India and Brazil are quadrupled, and yet we hesitate to provide a market at home, and counteract a foreign policy which rears its industry upon the ruins of our prosperity! Foreigners rival us in the raw material of *Cotton, Wool, Iron, Glass, and Paper*, they render ours useless at home by refusing to receive them from us, and yet compel us to pay them for working up their own, for our use!

The *home market* would reconcile the interests of every section of the Union, and convert the only diversities which ought ever to exist in this country, those of soil and climate into common blessings, and sources of national prosperity. By it, the three great branches of industry would equally redound to the general good, they would be united by the same bond and labor for the same purpose, their profits would flow in a common channel, and fructify a common country.

Suppose it should be conceded, as has been contended, that the manufacturing establishment would be principally located in the Eastern and middle and some of the Western states; their dependence upon the South for the supply of the raw material, would necessarily produce a common interest throughout the whole. The *Cotton, Wool, Indigo, Hemp, Rice and Sugar* of the South and West, would be exchanged for the manufactured productions of the other parts of the Union, and thus produce a course of trade equally beneficial to all parts of the community, and not less profitable than any foreign commerce, upon which we can calculate. If I had not already consumed more than my share on the time of the house, I could easily shew the superior advantages of the employment of capital in the *home trade* to the extent now contemplated, referring to both England and France for an illustration; it will be

sufficient however, merely to glance at the course of such a trade in the United States. The merchant at Charleston for example, would lay out a capital of \$20,000, in produce purchased of the Western farmer, which he would sell to the planters of the South, for Cotton worth \$24,000; this he would ship to the Eastern or middle states and exchange it for \$28,000, worth of manufactured articles, with which the demands of the South would be supplied. It must be perceived at once that in every step of this progress, the *home labor* is stimulated—the industry of our own citizens in the North South and West is equally benefited, to the full amount of the capital employed, which is kept rapidly and constantly circulating. But, if the merchant of Charleston, should exchange his Western produce, or Southern Cotton in Europe, for foreign goods, the labor of this country would be benefited only to the extent of his profits and his capital would be employed as much for the benefit of foreigners, as that of our citizens. of which we are every day feeling the evil effects. We are sensible of the evils, and we cannot mistake the remedy. We possess a country highly favored by Providence, filled with resources ample for all our wants. It is for us to adopt a system of policy which shall draw them forth, and make them active, and which shall protect the home labour against foreign competition, and which shall provide the *home market* accessible by good roads and canals.

I owe the house an apology for having consumed so much time, and will only repeat my hope that the motion may not prevail.

THE CHRISTENING.

A hundred names were soon proposed,
But every one the Wife opposed,
No tongue could e'er run faster;
"Well, Peter, then" the Husband cried:
"What! Peter?" the good Dame replied;
"Not he denied his Master!"

"Through all the list" said he "I've run,
"And know not then, what's to be done
"To close this sad distress:
"Suppose, my dear, he's Joseph called?"
"No, never, no!" she loudly bawled,
"For he denied his Mistress!"

TRANSPOSING OF LETTERS.

Potentates	Ten tea pots
Amendment	Ten mad men
Gallantries	All great sin
Encyclopedia	A nice cold pye
Breakfast	Fat Bakers
Telegraphs	Great helps
Astronomers	Moon starers
Astronomers	No more stars
Lawyers	Sly ware
Penitentiary	Nay I repent it
Democratical	Comical trade
Revolution	To love ruin
Sovereignty	'Tis ye governor
Punishment	Nine Thumps
Old England	Golden land
Orator Henry Hunt	No one thruth, Harry
John Gale Jones	See John in Goal
William Cobbett	I'll be at its, mob. W. C.
Radical Reform	Rare mad frolic
Universal suffrage	Guess a fearful ruin
Annual Parliament	I am an unreal plant.

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